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### ON AN UNPUBLISHED CYLINDER OF ESARHADDON.\*

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The cylinder here published and translated for the first time belongs to that group of documents of Esarhaddon and Aššurbanipal, of which the common theme is the restoration of the temples of the province and city of Babylon and the return of the banished gods to their ancient seats. It is dedicated to Ištar of Erech, and describes in the usual way the restoration of Êanna the temple of Anu, in which, as we learn, there was a shrine of Ištar called Ênirgalanna. Its exact date is impossible to determine; but it probably belongs to the very end of the reign of Esarhaddon, seeing that it speaks for instance of the bringing back of Marduk to Êsagila as an accomplished fact, though we know that he was not finally installed there until the beginning of the reign of Aššurbanipal, who expressly says that he completed what his father had left unfinished at Êsagila.

The cylinder is of grey clay, small and barrel-shaped. It is numbered 81 6-7 209 in the collection of the British Museum; but "where it was found is not known" (*PSBA.*, 1884, p. 181). The characters are of the Babylonian form, clearly written and, with few exceptions, well preserved.

A transliteration, with a translation of a few of the lines, has been given (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II., p. 120), by Winckler, who (l. 1) reads Ištar šurbutiê bêlit šamiê for I. šurbuti êtillit šame and šarruhti for šaruhti; (l. 9) reads itu kun for itût kun; (l. 17) sattuki for sat-tukku; (l. 20) lû for rabû, and omits bîtišu; (l. 27) reads Šumêri for Šumêru; (l. 28) Bêl-ibni for Bêl-banî, and (l. 29) šâti for iâti.

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\* The text has also been published by Prof. G. A. Barton in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1891; but the present article was in the hands of the printer before Prof. Barton's edition reached England.—ED.

## TRANSLITERATION.

1) a-na Iš-tar bêlti šur-bu-ti ê-til-lit šam-ê u irši-tim ға-rit-ti ilâni ša-ru-uh-ti

2) Ištar Uruk ru-ba-a-ti šir-ti li-ға-a-ti pa-ra-aş A-num-u-tu

3) ša ri-kis tê-ri-ê-ti ға-am-mat

4) ru-um-ti ti-iz-ға-r-ti ša a-na šarri mi-ig-ri-ša ki-niř ip-pal-la-su

5) palî-šu u-şal-ba-ru i-şar-ra-ku-uř da-na-nu u li-i-ti

6) ša-nun-ka-at âd-na-a-ti ša-ku-ti ilâni a-ři-bat Ê-nir-gal-an-na

7) ša ki-rib Ê-an-na bê-lit Uruk bêlti rabî-ti bêlti-šu

8) Aššur-âhâ-iddi-na šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar kiřsati šar Aššur šar kib-rat irbit-ti šakkanak Bâbili šar Šu-mê-ri u Akkadi

9) ti-ri-iř kâtâ Aššur i-tu-ut kun lib-bi Bêli ni-bit Marduk mi-gir Ir-ni-ni

10) ša ultu ři-ři-ri-šu a-na Aššur A-num Bêli Ê-a Sin Šamři Rammân Marduk Nabû Nergal u Ištar

11) ilâni rabûti it-tak-lu-ma ni-is-sat-su u-şak-ři-du-uř i-mu-ru da-na-an-šu-un

12) a-na nu-uh-ğu lib-bi ilu-u-ti-šu-nu u nu-up-pu-uř ka-bit-ti-šu-nu řilli-šu-nu da-ru-u

13) it-ru-ğu êli-šu

14) ina ê-muğ Aššur-Bêl apil Bêli u Ištar ilâni ti-ik-li-šu kul-lat mâtâti i-bê-lu-ma

15) ina gi-mir ma-li-ku u-şak-ni-šu řê-pu-uř-šu

16) ba-nu-u bît Aššur ê-piř Ê-sag-ila u Bâbili mu-ud-diř Ê-an-na

17) mu-şak-lil eř-ri-ê-ti u ma-ға-zu mu-kîn sat-tuk-ku

18) šarru ša ina û-mê palî-šu bêlu rabu-u Marduk a-na Bâbili sa-li-mu ir-šu-u

19) ina Ê-sag-ila êkalli-šu ir-mu-u řu-bat-su

20) A-num rabu-u ana âli-šu Dûr-ilu u bîti-šu Ê-dim-gal-kalam-ma u-řê-ri-bu-ma

21) u-řê-ři-bu pa-rak-ka da-ra-a-ti

22) ilâni mâtâti ša ana Aššur i-ři-šu-ni řu-kut-ta-šu-nu ud-diř-ma ul-tu ki-rib Aššûr

23) ana ař-ri-šu-nu u-tîr-šu-nu-ti-ma u-kîn is-ğu-uř-šu-un

24) rubû ên-ğu it-pi-šu ға-sis kâl řip-ri ša ina ma-ға-zu rabûti

25) si-ma-a-ti iř-tak-ka-nu uř-tê-ři-ru řu-luğ-ға



## TRANSLATION.

1) To Ištar, the great lady, queen of heaven and earth, the heroine of the gods, the glorious one,

2) Ištar of Erech, the princess supreme, who receives the command of Anu-mutu,

3) who the bond of laws makes fast,

4) the high and mighty one, who upon the king her worshipper, faithfully looks,

5) his reign prolongs, and bestows on him power and glory,

6) queen of the mansions of the most high gods, dwelling in Ênirgalanna,

7) which (is) within Êanna, lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady,

8) Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, king of the four regions, governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad,

9) set up by the hands of Aššur, offspring of the righteousness of the heart of Bel, the chosen of Marduk, worshipper of Irnini,

10) who from his youth up in Aššur, Anum, Bel, Êa, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Marduk, Nabû, Nergal and Ištar,

11) the great gods, his lords, has trusted, and (in that) his grief they have caused to be put away from him has seen their power,

12) for the repose of the heart of their godhead, and the health of their soul, the shadow of their protection everlasting

13) they cast over him :—

14) in the might of Aššur-Bel, son of Bel, and Ištar, the gods his helpers, all lands he has taken possession of, and

15) all princes has subdued (under) his feet,

16) maker of the house of Aššur, builder of Êsagila and Babylon, restorer of Êanna,

17) who completed the shrines and the city, who instituted daily sacrifices,

18) the king in the days of whose reign the great lord Marduk to Babylon (his) favor granted,

19) (and) in Êsagila his palace established his seat,

20) who Anum the great into his city Dûrilu and his house Êdingalkamma caused to enter, and

21) set him to dwell in an everlasting sanctuary,

22) (who) the gods of the countries, that to Assyria had hastened, their costly ornaments renewed, and from out of Assyria

23) to their own seats restored them, and fixed their revenues :—

24) the prince, wise, busy, cunning in all works such as (are) in great cities,

25) adornments made, ordained rites and ceremonies :—

- 26) apil Sin-âhî-ir-ba šar kiššati šar Aššur apil Šarru-ukîn šar Aššur  
 27) šakkanak Bâbili šar Šu-mê-ru u Akkadi  
 28) li-ib-li-pi da-ru-u ša Bêl-ba-ni apil A-da-si šar Aššur  
 29) pir'u Aššur šu-ku-ru-tim šarru-u-tu ki-šit-ti ia-a-ti  
 30) i-nu-ma Ê-an-na bît A-num-u-tu na-ram Ištar bêlit-ia ša šarru ma-ḥar  
 i-pu-šu  
 31) la-ba-riš il-lik-ma i-ku-pu igarâti-šu  
 32) aš-ra-ti-šu aš-tê-'ê-ma nit-ta-šu as-suḥ tê-mê-ên-šu u-ba-tiḫ-ma ki-ma  
 si-ma-ti-šu  
 33) la-bi-ra-a-ti ina ši-pir (ilu) libittu ar-šip u-šak-lil ki-ma šadi-i ri-ê-ši-  
 šu ul-li  
 34) Ištar bêltu šur-bu-ti ši-pir šu-a-tu ḥa-diš lip-pa-lis-ma a-mat damiḫ-  
 ti-ia liš-ša-kin šap-tuš-ša  
 35) muḥ-ḥi kul-lat na-ki-ri li-šam-ri-ir kakki-ia  
 36) ma-ti-ma ina aḥ-rat ûmê rubû arku-u ša ina ûmê palî-šu ši-pir šu-  
 a-tu  
 37) in-na-ḥu-ma šu-kit-ti i-raš-šu-u aš-ra-ti-šu liš-tê-'ê-ma nit-ta-šu liḫ-šir  
 38) mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia šamnu lip-šu-uš niḫâ liḫ-ḫi ina aš-ri-šu liš-kun  
 39) iḫ-ri-bi-šu ilâni i-šim-mu-u ur-rak ûmê u-rap-pa-aš kim-ti  
 40) ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti ib-ba-tu lu-u a-šar-šu  
 u-nak-ka-ru  
 41) Ištar bêltu rabî-ti ag-giš lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu zir-šu ina nap-ḥar  
 mâtâti li-ḥal-lik



26) son of Sennacherib king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, the son of Sargon, king of Assyria,

27) governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad,

28) descendant from of old of Belbani, son of Adasi, king of Assyria,

29) scion of the city of Aššur, the jewel of the kingdom my possession, am I.

30) When Êanna, the house of Anumutu, beloved of Ištar my lady, which a former king built,

31) in age advanced, and its walls decayed,

32) its shrines I cared for, its ruins I removed, its foundation-stone I took up, and like its adornments

33) of old with the work of the Brick-god I built up, I completed; like a mountain its spires I raised.

34) May Ištar, the great lady, this work joyfully look upon, and a word of favor towards me be put in her lips!

35) Over all enemies may she make my weapons terrible!

36) In the future, in after days, may the later prince, in the days of whose reign this work

37) may decay, and the fabric be broken down, its shrines take care of, its ruins repair;

38) the tablet inscribed with my name with oil may he anoint, (and) the sacrifice of a lamb offer; in its place may he set (it)!

39) His prayers shall the gods hear; they shall lengthen his days, (and) multiply his kith and kin.

40) (But) he who the tablet inscribed with my name with (of) cunning work destroys, or its place alters,

41) may Ištar, the great lady, in anger look upon him, and his name, his seed in all lands destroy!

## NOTES.

2) paraš Anumutu must mean either *the command of Anu*, with whom Istar was closely associated at Erech (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 184), or, simply *the heavenly command*, just as in line 30 we have Êanna, *the house of heaven*, explained by bît Anumutu.

3) For this phrase used in connection with Bel and Istar see II R. 57, 10.

4) For the meaning of rumti tizkarti see II R. 31, 54, ru-um-tum = ka-bit-tum, and II R. 25, 50, MAH (=šîru)=ti-iz-ka-ru.

6) ŠA-NUN-KAT with the explanation šarratum is found (obv., line 6) on an unpublished "bilingual" list (numbered 81-4-28, 327) in the British Museum, to which Mr. Pinches has directed my attention.

9) itût kun libbi Bêl. Cf. Nebuchadnezzar (Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 33, Col. I. 17), ituti kûn lib ilâni rabûti; and (I R. 52, 3; Col. I. 2) itût kûn libbi Marduk. With regard to Irnini, Pinches (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, I, p. 208) has shown that ir may represent an older ur or ura, and therefore, if Jensen's proposed identification of URA with Nergal in his character of "the bloodthirsty" or "the bloodhound" (*Kosmologie*, p. 483) be accepted, Irnini, that is the god Ir, might be explained as a name or title of Nergal. On the other hand, in the following fragment of an incantation, Irnini seems to be an epithet of Istar: šiptu Istar liêit ilâni rabûti šakutum šuputum garittum Ištârâti(?).... mupilatam šurbutum Irnini bêltum.... ana iâši ruši banat u addirat.... Bêlat niši ilat zikkari.... šaninti niši têliti Istar binat Anum nabnit ilâni rabûti [na]-dinat haţtu kussu....

11) nissatsu ušakšiduš, literally, *his weeping they caused him to subdue*.

12) For a defence of the form kabittu as against the (literally) possible kabattu, see Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 29.

14) Aššur-Bêl. This composite god, formed out of the Assyrian Aššur and the Babylonian Bêl, and to a certain extent, as it would seem, subordinated to the latter, is evidently the outcome of a policy of combining the Assyrian and Babylonian pantheons into one system, of which the center of gravity would lie more on the side of Babylon than on that of Assyria. And this would correspond in the religious sphere to the political subordination of Assyria to Babylon, which was undoubtedly contemplated by Esarhaddon, though he never lived to effect it. It is true, however, that we meet with Aššur-Bêl, as a component of a proper name, at a much earlier period, for in the new fragment of the Babylonian chronicle recently published by Mr. Pinches (*Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. V) mention is made of a Tukulti-Aššur-Bêl, who seems to have been a contemporary of Aššurnasirpal.



20) Cf. K 3053 rev. l. 42, where Esarhaddon is describing how he restored the gods to their temples: *ilu rabû šarrat Dûrilu Kadi (AN-SIR) bêlit balâti...* ana Dûrilu âlišunu utîr; also the Babylonian Chronicle, Col. III., 44 (where Kadi is written syllabically).

22) *šukuttu*. Both the meaning and the reading of this word are obscure. *šukutti (šukutti?)* *hurâši* are mentioned in the Nimrûd inscription of Tiglath-pileser III., line 28, where Smith (*Discoveries*, p. 260) and after him Schrader (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, II., p. 16) translate by *cups, drinking vessels*, with evident reference to the root *šakû*; but this can hardly be the meaning of the word here. I prefer, with Delitzsch (*Assyrian Grammar*, § 49b.), to connect it with *šakânu*, as meaning, however,—not *rubbish, stuff*, but—the elaborate jeweler's or sculptor's work, which adorned the shrines or the images of the gods.

25) *šuluḥḥu*, originally *handwashing*, then, perhaps, *rites and ceremonies* in general. Cf. V R. 13, 1 and 2, *kissalluhḥu*, used of a class of priests whose business it was to anoint the temple floor (Latrille in Delitzsch's *Beitraege*, I., p. 291). *šuluḥḥu* occurs in line 10 of the Ripley Cylinder of Neriglissar in the phrase *muštêširu šuluḥḥišun*, for which Winckler (*Keilschrifttexte, Woerter-Verzeichnis*, p. 85) proposes the rendering *der in Ordnung brachte ihre Aufgaben (Einkuenfte)*, and further in a difficult passage of the same cylinder (Col. II., l. 17), *ana ullulu šuluḥḥu zanana(ti?)*, which Bezold (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III., p. 79) translates doubtfully by *den Bau zu erhoehen*.

28) *Bêl-banî* son of *Adasi*. Cf. K 3053 obv. l. 48, where Esarhaddon calls himself *liblibbi šarruti ša Bêl-ba[nî] šar Aššur*. This ancient king—more mythical perhaps than historical—is known to us only as the reputed founder of Sargon's line. It is not impossible that he may be the same as *Bêl-kapkapi*, the former king from whom Rammân-nirâri III. claims descent (I R. 35, 3, 24); but see Tiele, *Geschichte* I., p. 255.

32) The object of the verb *aššuḥ* evidently occurs again in line 37, where the characters, though somewhat defaced, can still plainly be read as *uš-ta-šu* or *nit-ta-šu*. I have read *nittašu* in both places, connecting the word with the root (נאח?) seen in *ani'i*, *muni'i*, forms which with the meaning *pierce through*, or *shatter* occur in Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, V. 66, *irat-sun ani'ima*, *I pierced their breast*, and Sargon, *Nimrûd Inscription*, l. 9, *muni'i irat Kakmiê*, *who pierced the breast of the Kakmi*. *nittu* would thus mean that which has been shattered, broken away. It is possible that it may be connected—as *hiṭṭu* with *hiṭu*—with the word *nîtu*, which is used of besieging in the formula *nîtum almî*, *nîti almî* (Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, V. 13, and *Bavian Inscription*, l. 44; cf. V R. 19, 21, *nîtum ša lamê*); but the meaning of which is obscure. Bezold, (*l. c.*) gives *Cordon*, Winckler, *Belagerungswall*. Prof. Robertson Smith suggests the comparison of نتي "a ditch surrounding a tent," and Heb. נאות מדבר which must be interpreted to mean such

ditches disused and deserted. The word that follows *têmênšu* is difficult to decipher, for the character which I have read *ba* has almost the form of *giš*, and the succeeding character is very doubtful. My reading is proposed with great hesitation. The fact, however—if it be a fact—that the old foundation-stone was taken up, would show how thoroughly Esarhaddon went about his work of renovation.

37) *šukittu* is related to *šukuttu* as *butiķtu* to (the more usual) *butuķtu*. *iraššû*, from *rašâšu* (Heb. רִשַׁשׁ) to *break*, parallel in point of form to *izannu* from *zanânu* (Neriglassar, I. 27).

39) *urrak ûmê*, etc. Cf. V R. 34, Col. III., 43, 44, where the goddess is directly addressed in the second person, *uriki ûmua...balaţam ķuti*, where Winckler (*KB.*, III., p. 44) reads *balaţam [dam]-ķuti*, *ein gnadenreiches Leben*, with a note to the effect that *dam* has been left out by the scribe.











## II. THE CALENDAR OF ENOCH AND JUBILEES.

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IN *HEBRAICA*, VIII., 1 and 2, we made an investigation of the chronology of the Flood according to the P document, which, in connection with certain other passages from the same document, seemed to make it clear that the writer employed, if he did not intend positively to inculcate, a calendar system strikingly different from the very irregular one in current use among the Hebrews down to the fourth century of our era. The peculiarities of the calendar suggested by the priestly writer of the Flood story were: (1) the invariable month of 30 days, instead of the Hebrew observed month, varying from 28 to 30 days, and having an average value slightly exceeding  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days; (2) the lunar year, less by ten days than the solar; (3) the "great year" of 600 years = 7421 lunations. The 30 day month corresponds with that of Babylonia and Egypt, the "great year" was certainly of Babylonian origin, and the "decade" was also a Babylonian period.

It was found to be an essential requirement of the ritual system of P to furnish a perpetual calendar for the accurate reckoning of "signs and seasons (sacred) and months and years," and the passage Gen. i., 14 was held to indicate an intention of the writer to furnish a perpetual luni-solar calendar. His establishment of a complete chronology of universal history, fixing even the very day of creation itself as the first of the week and the prescription of feasts by the day of the month seemed to be an indication that he considered himself to have furnished such a calendar.

The difficulty came with the *ten* day intercalary period, which seemed to be intended to stand for the discrepancy between the lunar and solar year (Gen. VIII., 13 sq.). That this period of ten days added to the day of the month (lunar), was intended to make good the deficiency of the lunar year, and so bring the close of the Flood to precisely one solar year from its beginning, was evidenced by a citation from "Jubilees" prescribing this very addition of *ten* days to the day of the (lunar) month to secure the true date (solar time). Now if the author of the Flood narrative was familiar with the "great year" of Josephus, 600 solar years = 7421 lunations, the great triumph of ancient Babylonian astronomy, this would inevitably require a solar year of at least 365 days, unless the lunation was made considerably less than  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, which is scarcely supposable. In addition there was the significantly exceptional number 365 employed by the same author for



the age of Enoch, a character inseparable from calendar and solar myths, and the palpable fact that a year of 364 days would, in the course of an ordinary lifetime, be so far out of the way as to have entirely altered the succession of the seasons, and so made the whole system of feasts impracticable. All this being taken into consideration, together with the fact that both in Babylon and Egypt the year had long been reckoned at 365½ days, and that no civilized nation has ever within historical times employed a solar year so widely departing from the true, seemed to warrant the conclusion emphatically stated in the preceding article, "It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days," and as we are not at liberty with Lenormant (*Beginnings of History*, p. 411) to find an addition of *eleven* days to the lunar year according to Gen. VIII., 13 sq., but only *ten*, as in "Jubilees," the inference seemed unavoidable that the lunar year was reckoned at 355 days.

We have now to consider the bearing upon this question of two important works of the Pharisean period largely devoted to the rectification of the calendar, in each of which it is plainly intimated that the Law of Moses contains just such a perpetual calendar as we have concluded P both must have presented, and actually considered himself to have presented. That one of them in particular which makes the rectification of the calendar its most especial aim goes back to the very passages which we have considered to afford the calendar-system of the priestly legislation, viz., the chronology of the Flood-account in P, as the infallible and divinely revealed basis for the calendar.

These two books are the Samaritan book of Enoch *circ.* 144–106 B. C., which we will speak of simply as "Enoch," and the book of "Jubilees" already referred to, dating from *circ.* 50 A. D. Both advocate a purely solar calendar, and fall back upon Genesis as the infallible authority. Both wish to introduce an invariable month of 30 days with four intercalary *ἡμέραι ἐπαγομεναι*, making thus an invariable year of 364 days. Of course both attack the current practice of their day, which determined the month by what "Jubilees" considers the corrupting, "Gentile" practice of "observations of the moon."

As we shall need to have a thorough understanding of this writer's calendar-system, an abstract of his teaching on the subject will be necessary for our purpose. It should be understood from the outset that the book of Jubilees is in the nature of a *haggadah*, or discursive commentary on Genesis. Its characteristic treatment of the biblical writing has won for it the title of *SepteGenesis*, which might be well rendered "Genesis carried out in the minutiae." Section VI., relating to Noah and the flood, is, as we might expect from the facts adduced in *HEBRAICA*, VIII., 1 and 2, mainly devoted to the regulation of the calendar according to the plan above stated.

Beginning with VI., 16 the author reckons from creation to Noah's 600th year 26 jubilees (of 49 years) and 5 weeks of years (7 year periods). There are

then 7 jubilees (343 years) and one week (7 years) to Noah's death. The significance of these dates in connection with the chronology of P corresponds with the paraphrase in "Jubilees" of Gen. I., 28, which has previously been given by the author in II., 8, as follows: "And God established the sun as a great sign over the earth, and for days and for sabbaths and for months and for festivals and for years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years." Whatever P's calendar may have been, it is clear that "Jubilees" favors solar reckoning, and regards the moon as a "corrupter" of times and seasons.

In VI., 20 the author proceeds to enact the feast-days of the year: 1st, "one day a year at the feast of weeks, as it is written in the book of the first law (Num. XXVIII., 26). 21, The new moon of the first month (vernal equinox), of the fourth (summer solstice), the seventh (autumnal equinox), and the tenth (winter solstice) are to be celebrated as the feasts of Noah; 22, because Noah ordained them. 23, In the first, God said to him, 'Make an ark.' In the fourth, the mouths of the flood-gates were closed (not contained in Genesis). In the seventh, the flood-gates were opened again to reabsorb the waters. In the tenth, the mountain-tops appeared. . . . 27, There are to be 13 sabbaths (91 days) to each of the above quarters of the year. In 52 sabbaths of days ( $4 \times 13$  weeks = 52 weeks = 364 days), the whole is completed. . . . 29, The year has precisely 364 days. . . . 31, But if they [the people] transgress and do not observe them [the feasts of Noah] according to his commandment, then all the fixed dates will be corrupted, and the years will waver in consequence and also their times and years. And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the paths of the years, and will forget the new moon and sabbaths and festivals, and in all the order of the years will they err. . . . and walk according to the festivals of the Gentiles, after their errors and their ignorance. 34, And there will be those who will make observations of the moon; for this one corrupts the stated times and comes out earlier each year by ten days. 35, And in this way they will corrupt the years and err as to months and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees. Therefore I command thee [Moses]. . . . for after thy death thy children will corrupt [the calendar] so that they make a year only 364 days,\* and on this account they will err as to new moons and sabbaths."

It is clear that the author of "Jubilees" writes from a period of great confusion of the calendar, in which there appears to be a strong tendency to adopt the "Gentile" year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$  days (the Julian calendar?); for in VI., 35 we must certainly read 365( $\frac{1}{4}$ ?) in place of "only 364." This unpatriotic, heathenish tendency he resists and denounces to the utmost, as a departure from the divinely revealed calendar of Genesis of 364 days. If only Israel would abide by the writ-

\* As to this flagrant contradiction of the preceding context, Prof. George Schodde, from whose new translation, *Bib. Sac.*, 1885 and sqq., I quote, writes in a foot-note that there is nothing to be said save that it is totally unaccountable.

ten word all would be well. But they are prone to depart from the way ordained in the law and from the example of Noah to forget the feasts instituted by him at the solstices and equinoxes, and to "walk according to the festivals of the Gentiles, after their errors and their ignorance." This desperate struggle of Pharisean conservatism to maintain the infallible truth of the divinely revealed law, as the author understands it, against the "ignorance and error of the Gentiles," who profanely declare in the face of Scripture that the year has 365 days or more, has a pathetic parallel in more than one great modern struggle of the church for what it was persuaded was the divinely revealed infallible truth of Holy Scripture, and of Genesis in particular. Viewed by itself, one sees nothing in it but bigotry and narrow-minded fanaticism; but viewed as it should be, simply as one phase of the heroic Maccabean struggle for the preservation of national independence, religious freedom and the institutions of Mosaism, it possesses more of pathos than of absurdity, and calls for pity rather than contempt.

But we have other facts to consider before we shall have reached a thorough comprehension of the relation of this Pharisean plea for the "Mosaic" calendar, to the tendencies of its own time on the one hand, and to the calendar of Genesis, which it attempts to expound, on the other.

We have already observed that the author of "Jubilees" is not the first to present this cause, but expressly refers to his predecessor "Enoch" as authority on this subject. It is when we examine the latter work that we first obtain a clear and comprehensive insight into what "Jubilees" understands to be the Noachic (and Mosaic) system. Here again the last vestige of possibility that the reading of Jub. VI., 35, "so that they make a year *only 364* days," could be correct is entirely removed. If "Enoch" was authority for "Jubilees," as appears not alone from explicit reference,\* but still more obviously from the manifest dependence of his whole calendar system on the elaborate astronomical and calendar data of Enoch LXXII.-LXXXII., then the number 364 for the days of the solar year was the most solid and unshakeable of facts; for Enoch not only repeats with emphasis in more than one place "the year has precisely 364 days," but, lest there should be the shadow of a doubt as to the real meaning of his "precisely," he adds, "In three years there are 1092 days; in five years there are 1820 days; in eight years there are 2712 days." He has not even left us room to suppose that he proposed an intercalary period; for in order to be of practical value to the Hebrews, whose feast of first-fruits could not be celebrated, if the seasons were permitted to fall back very far by reason of a deficient year, the intercalation would have to be made at least as often as once in eight years.

But "Enoch" too rests upon Genesis as the ultimate authority. The revelation which is supposed to be made by "Enoch, the seventh from Adam," to his

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\* "Enoch wrote out the signs of heaven according to the order of their months." —Jub. IV.



great-grandson Noah is in chs. LXXII.-LXXXII. devoted to the exposition of an elaborate astronomical and calendar system, detailed at great length and with painstaking precision. As the framework of the entire book rests upon the story of Gen. V.-VIII., so the physical system of chs. LXXII.-LXXXVII. corresponds obviously to what the author understands to be that of Genesis. By being caught up above the sky, Enoch has opportunity to inspect the whole celestial mechanism from the inner (i. e. the upper) side. He travels entirely around the great celestial vault, which as an inverted hemispherical shell rests upon the flat horizontal surface of the earth, the latter extending indefinitely north, south, east and west beyond the circle where the celestial hemisphere rests upon it. In these various regions outside the "world" are the abodes of the just and the unjust dead, of angels good and bad, the latter "in prison" since "the days of Noah," of the four winds with their inlets into the "world" and the "courses" of the sun, moon and stars. There are six "gates" on the east horizon through which the sun enters for his career on the inner surface of the vault and six gates of exit on the west through which he emerges again at evening to travel thence horizontally around the north pole back to the place of entrance.

It is by such personal inspection of the heavenly mechanism that Enoch is qualified to explain to his great-grandson Noah the entire celestial economy, with especial reference to the fixing of a permanent calendar. This is done with the adoption of the very terms of Gen. I., 28, and an elaborate explanation of the mutual relations of the sun, moon and stars; especially the "signs" (stars which precede the sun and moon through the respective "gates" to direct their course). Here we find the origin and explanation of the peculiar division of the year in "Jubilees," the equinoctial and solstitial "feasts of Noah," and at the same time the point of connection with P's calendar of 30 day-months and year of 364 (?) days.

According to Enoch the months are no longer lunar but purely solar, or better sidereal; for they are of equal length (30 days) and are determined by the position of the stars in the Zodiac. The sun passes from season to season through the six gates, going in order from one to the other and returning on his track. In each gate on the east he enters daily for two months (60 days), of course, making his exit (setting) in the corresponding gate on the west for the same period. Only at the beginning of each of the four quarters of the year (equinoxes and solstices), does he spend an extra day in the gate then occupied, "on account of the signs," and these extra days, not counted in the days of the months, are called "leaders" (*ἡμέραι ἐπαγομεναι*), from the fact that they "lead in" the four quarters of the year. The moon has a period of 29 or of 30 days. "It has also a period of 28 days." The lunar year, however, is reckoned to be 354 days and accordingly the great year 600 years = 7421 lunations can scarcely have been known to the writer.

It is obvious that both "Jubilees" and "Enoch" are intensely loyal to what we may call the Noachic calendar, as they understand it. It is clearly a prime object with both writers to defend what they understand to be the year of divine revelation from the inroads of Gentile astronomy. It is equally obvious that the Gentile year can only have been the longer one of 365 or perhaps  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, since the true value of the year was known as accurately as this to Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks long before this time, which precedes by little more than half a century in the case of Enoch the actual adoption of the Julian calendar at Rome and in Jubilees is a century later. It is further no less clear that the year of 364 days, advocated by these writers as infallibly and exactly correct, is maintained as such on the express ground that it is the year of Noah, revealed first to Enoch, employed by Noah, and afterward again made known on Sinai to Moses. It cannot therefore be successfully questioned that "Enoch" and "Jubilees" both find in the chronology of the account of the Flood a year of exactly 364 days, consisting of 12 even (sidereal) months of 30 days each + 4 *ἡμέραι ἐπαγομεναι* at the beginning of each quarter of the year. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the advocate of a solar calendar at the stage of astronomical science of the 2d century B. C. could fix upon 364 as the number of days in the year unless he supposed himself to be following some infallible authority. The attitude of these two writers should serve at least to prove beyond question that the tracing of a calendar system in the chronology of the account of the Flood in P is not a mere fancy of modern criticism, but an undeniable fact of far-reaching consequences.

But were "Enoch" and "Jubilees" right in so understanding Genesis? It must be remembered that we have not here two wholly independent authorities, but one is confessedly dependent on the other though corroborating his judgment on the main point. The question now is, Was "Enoch" right in interpreting the Noachic calendar as requiring a year of 364 days?

In the preceding article, this question was answered in a way which, in view of subsequent investigation, must be pronounced as at least prematurely positive, and the author asks leave to withdraw from the opinions expressed in the concluding section of the article (p. 87 sq.) from the paragraph beginning, "But there is one insuperable obstacle to this explanation of the date [a year of 364 days]. It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days." It must still remain true that the *originator* of a solar calendar of the nature of that which shines through the *material* of P in the story of Enoch (translated at the age of 365 years) and of Noah, material most naturally seized upon by the calendar-making authors of "Enoch" and "Jubilees," must have known the "great year," 600 years = 7421 lunations (the calendar dates of the flood chronology begin with the 600th year of Noah's life), and also the value of the solar year *at least* as near as 365 days. But it does not follow that P *himself* reckoned 365 days to the year, impracticable as the error of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  days, would make the whole

system. A student of the priestly document familiar with its sublime defiance of practicability, should not have allowed himself to say that anything was too palpably impracticable for this purely ideal and artificial legislator to enact. With the legislator who assigns to Eleazar and Ithamar the duties of Leviticus and Numbers, and rewards them with the thirteen cities of Josh. XXI., we may well believe that nothing is impossible. The priestly legislation maps out periods of time in as serenely ideal and purely artificial a way as Ezekiel's does the territory of Palestine. While, therefore, the indications are quite sufficient to show that the *originator* of the material P employs in the first chapters of his work must have been familiar with the year of 365 days and the great cycle of 600 years = 7421 lunations, it does not follow that the priestly legislator who employed this material was really familiar with these astronomical data. Had the solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days been in current use, as among ourselves, in either Babylon or Egypt, P could scarcely have ventured to fix the year at 364. But both in Babylon and in Egypt the civil year had 360 days. In the former it seems to have been corrected by the intercalation once in twelve years ("*annus Chaldaeus*" of Censorinus) of two months. In Egypt the seasons ran through every period of the year. A writer comparatively ignorant of astronomy might thus be familiar with the use of the invariable sidereal month of 30 days, the "signs," the solstices and equinoxes, and still adopt 364 days as the exact length of the year, if he saw any (to him) adequate reason for fixing upon that number.

In the preceding article, reasons were given for regarding P's Flood-narrative and kindred sections as based upon a form of the well-known Assyro-Babylonian calendar myth of Gilgames, and it is doubtless this which we see cropping out in the various calendar data of Babylonian type, the 600 year cycle, the year of 365 days, the sidereal, invariable month of 30 days, and the decade, as a rough adjustment of the lunar to the solar year. The late tradition of a value for the lunation of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days and 40 minutes in the family of Gamaliel is quite insufficient to overthrow the much older and stronger indications that the lunar year was considered to be of 354 days as nearly as possible. I am constrained therefore to admit that there is no ground whatever for thinking P could have known any other value for the lunar year than 354 days, and accordingly that "Enoch" and "Jubilees" are quite right in understanding him to fix the value of the solar year at 364 days, impracticable as it certainly is. Hence the suggestion that Ewald and Lenormant must have been misled by the later Jewish practice of the alternate full (30 day) and deficient (29 day) month into the assumption that the lunar year had only 354 days was unwarranted and is sincerely regretted. On the other hand, however, it becomes unmistakably evident that one, if not both, of these scholars was wrong in claiming for the chronology of the Flood-story in P a year of 365 years ( $354 + 11$ ). It was not the intention of the priestly legislator merely to adopt the Babylonian calendar. He was fully alive to the advantage of a perpetual solar calendar with an invariable sidereal month. It was in fact a necessity for his chronological



system, one object of which is to identify the seventh day in current use in his own time by uninterrupted sequence with the seventh day of the creative week. It was not enough for him to enact observance of *a* seventh day but *the* seventh day: not to sanctify one day in seven, but to *keep* holy the day which Yahweh had sanctified in the beginning. If such an idea is impracticable to us, it was not to him; but is exactly in accord with his *durch und durch idealistisches System*. So the dating of the events of his history by the day of the month (cf. e. g. Ex. XII., 40 sq.; XIX., 1, etc., "the selfsame day") and the fixing of the feasts of the year in the same way, together with the system of jubilee-years which the book of that name is perhaps the last vain effort to put in force, all show that P undertook to enact, and supposed himself to be successfully providing, an ideal, perpetual calendar, without intercalations or variations in length of year or month.

But what led him to fix upon the value 364 for the days of the year? Probably the desire to secure an even number of weeks in the year, so that the sabbath each year might fall on the same day of the month, and, more important still, in the same relation to the feasts and fasts. The first day of the world was the first day of the week, and, according to his scheme, it would be the first day of the year and the first of each quarter of the year, and the Sabbath the last day, to the end of time. Each quarter from equinox to solstice would have 13 full weeks = 91 days ( $4 \times 91 = 364$ ). Unfortunately the sun could not be hurried; but with the *a priori* astronomer the facts depend upon theological presumptions, and not *vice versa*, as appears clearly enough in the curious literature which marks the desperate effort of the Pharisees to put the calendar of the priestly legislation into practice *quand même*.

The history of this effort to introduce a solar calendar of 364 days and an invariable sidereal month of 30 days, should tend, with immense strength, to confirm the date assigned by recent criticism to the codification of the ritual law, and in particular to the priestly narrative of the Flood and kindred passages, as extricated by Pentateuch analysis. The dependence here on Babylonian originals is generally acknowledged. The sources of the sidereal month and of the other calendar data employed by P can scarcely be discovered elsewhere than in Babylon, nor can the effort to introduce them be easily dissociated from the reconstructive work of Ezra and the post-exilic scribes. The irregular observed month of lunar reckoning, and the irregularities of intercalation by months can only be the survival of the old pre-exilic popular practice which fortunately is not doubtful. This the lawyers vainly seek to displace by a "scientific" perpetual calendar of infallible accuracy, revealed to Moses on the mount. To invert the relation and make the sidereal month precede in time the lunar is a palpable absurdity. The roots of the strange calendar system of P go back to the Exile; the history of the necessarily unsuccessful attempt to enforce it is a neglected part of the strange, half-fanatic, half-heroic story of Pharisaism.

BY ISAAC H. HALL,  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

TEXT.

TRANSLATION.

*Of the Love of a Man and his Wife.*—In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. As Adam loved Eve, as Abraham loved Sara, as Isaac loved



Rebekah, and as Jacob loved Rachel, as Joseph loved Asenath, as Moses loved Zippora, as David loved Bath-sheba, so, Lord God Almighty, let the love of him, and the affection for him, and the desire of him, and the thought of him that bears these charms, fall upon his wife and upon his house. And as the sun makes his circuit in the firmament, so may the heart and the thought of him that bears these charms make the circuit upon his house and upon his wife. May they be in love and unity all the days of their lives; by the prayer of the prophets and apostles. Amen.

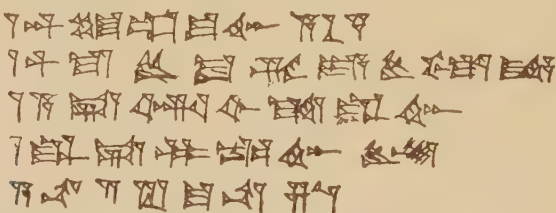

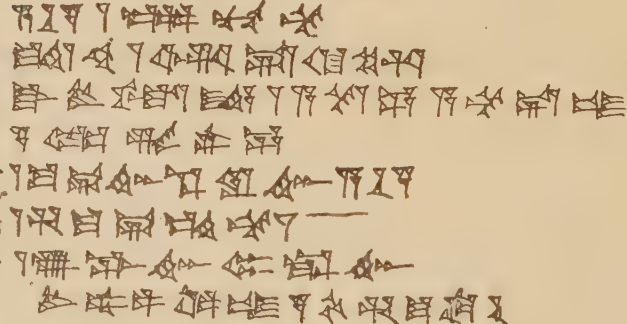
The name of Joseph's wife above is given as Asith; but I have rendered as if the scribe had written a yud for a nun—a very easy mistake.

# OLD PERSIAN NAMES IN BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,  
British Museum, London, England.

One of the most interesting tablets for old Persian names is S.† 409. The following is a free translation of it:—

“Tumma’, son of Barzu the magian, the cattle-keeper of Atar-šitra’, has sold Ratakka’, the slave, for 2½ mana of silver, to Baga’-pada, son of Nabû-zēr-iddina. (Witnesses) Artaukus(?), the chief cattle-keeper; Atê-amuštum, who is over the dues; Baga’-siru’, son of Huma-gammudiš; Umari’-mira’, the Uppaditum of the land of Hamadišu. Month Tebet, day 17th, year 7th.”

  
 Edge:   
 Rev.: 

## TRANSCRIPTION.

1. m. îlu. Tu-um-ma-’, âbli-šu ša
2. m. Bar-zu, âmelu ma\*-gi-ia, âmelu dam-gar.
3. m. A-ta-ar-ši-it-ra-’,

\* This seems to be better than is (giš), the lowest wedge having been apparently partly effaced by careless handling before the tablet was baked.



4. m. Ra-ta-ak-ka-' â melu ârdu
  5. a-na šanê šinipu ma-na kaspi
  6. a-na m. Ba-ga-'-pa-da,
  7. âbli-šu ša m. Nabû-zēr-iddina
  8. id-din. m. Ar-ta-u(?) -ku-us\*
  9. rab â melu dam-gar ; m. A-te-e-a-mu-uš-tu<sup>m</sup>,
  10. ša êli gi-ni-e ;
  11. m. Ba-ga-'-si-ru-', âbli-šu ša
  12. m. Hu-ma-ga-am-mu-diš ;
  13. m. U-mar-'-mi-ra-',
  14. â melu up-pa-di-tu<sup>m</sup> ša mâţ Hu-ma-di-šu.
- On left-hand edge : 15. Araḫ Tebēti, ūmu siba-êšrû,
16. šattu sibit.

The discussion of these names I leave to those who, being specialists, are more competent than myself. It is to be noted, however, that at least one of those bearing a Persian name, Baga'-pada, son of Nabû-zēr-iddina, was a Babylonian, and that the first name has the prefix of divinity. The name of the king reigning at the time is not given. The tablet is small, rather roughly shaped-up, and carelessly written.

Nov. 24, 1891.

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\* Ar-ta-ki-us is also possible.

# THE VIEWS OF JEHUDA HALEVI CONCERNING THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

BY W. BACHER,

Budapest.

Jehuda Halevi does not indeed belong, like Salomon Ibn Gabirol, the other great master of new Hebraic Poetry, to the "Elders of the Sacred Language," (זקני לשון הקדש) the founders and pioneers of Hebrew philology, whom Abraham Ibn Esra enumerates in the introduction to his first grammatical treatise, yet he should receive honorable mention in the history of that science, since, in his religio-philosophical work, *Kuzari* (Alchazari), he has made the Hebrew language, its history, and its peculiarities, the subject of a searching treatment, and has put into the mouth of "Chaber," who, in conversation with the Chazar king, as the appointed representative of Judaism, presents the ideas of the author, extremely noteworthy utterances concerning the sacred speech of Israel. On the basis of these utterances, which have been supplemented by the communications of a pupil of Jehuda Halevi, Salomon Ibn Parchon, I shall attempt to offer the following as a sketch and elucidation of the views of the famous poet, concerning the Hebrew language.

As a poet he had a more masterful grasp of the language than any of his contemporaries; he deserves, therefore, to be heard with special attention, when as a thinker he withdraws himself into the circle of his own speculations and brings forward what are partly the ruling ideas of his own time and environment and partly new results of his investigation.\*

## 1. THE AGE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

According to the Bible, the Hebrew language is the oldest of all languages; in it Adam and Eve received the revelation of God,† and it was the first colloquial speech of men. Proof of this is found in the etymologies of the name אדם from אֲדָמָה; the naming of the woman אִשָּׁה from אִישׁ (Gen. 2:23), the biblical derivation of the name חַוָּה (Gen. 3:20) קַיִן (4:1) שֵׁת (4:25) נֹחַ (5:24). In addition is the testimony of the Bible to the uninterrupted race succession, which proceeds backward from Eber (עֵבֶר), after whom the Hebrew language

\* In what follows *Kuzari* will be cited according to the ed. of the Arabic original by H. Hirschfeld (Leipzig 1887) together with citation of the page of the 2d Cassel ed. (Leipzig 1869). Most citations are from paragraphs (67-81) of the 2d book. I shall sometimes refer to Hirschfeld's German translation, *Al-Chazari* (Breslau 1885).

† For another and more correct comprehension of this passage, see below.

is named, to Noah, and then to Adam. The language was named after Eber, because after the confusion of tongues (Gen. 10:25; 11:9) he preserved the primitive speech. (p. 124, Cassel 167 sq.)

This view, that the Hebrew was the primitive language which was preserved through Eber after the dispersion, was also the commonly accepted view before J. Halevi among Jewish scholars. Saadi says in his preface to Agron, (ס' אגרון)\* לא נשאר לשון הקדש רק בפי בני עבר לבדם; Salomon Ibn Gabirol in his Grammatical History (v. 40)†

היא היתה מאז שפת כל היקום עד נפלנו אנשי עצת נבערת בלל שפתם ד' לבד בלשון בני עבר לבדה היתה נשארת

Abraham Ibn Esra stated repeatedly the same opinion and adduces as proofs the etymologies of the names אדם, נח, שם, that is the same as mentioned by Jehuda Halevi. The derivation of the name of the first man from ארמה 'earth' was compared with the other scriptural etymologies and appears to have passed for an axiom. Abulwalid Ibn Ganah says expressly in his lexicon‡ that אדם means, first, the first man, who was formed from the earth, from which his name was also derived.¶ Perhaps the words of Menahem Saruk ויתכן להיות אדם, where they cannot be understood, and placed at the close of the first division. Moreover, Jerome gives as the first of possible renderings of Adam "terrenus."¶ The naming of woman אשה, because she was taken from איש, man, is found to be an argument for the same thesis in a Palestinian Amora of the fourth century (R. Simon, סימון). Just as the Thora was revealed in the Hebrew language, so also the world was created with the Hebrew language. For in Greek, "man" and "woman" are designated by entirely different words: ἀνθρωπος and γυνή, and in Aramaic one says not גברתא corresponding to the man, גברא; only in Hebrew אשה is from איש.\*\* It is natural that the Palestinian Amora should have chosen for comparison only the two languages, the Greek and the Aramaic, with which the Jewish Diaspora came in contact.

## 2. THE INNER EXCELLENCE OF HEBREW.

Languages are distinguished from one another in that in some the names of objects are appropriate, in others this is only true to a limited degree. The divine, originally-created language which God taught Adam, since he put it upon his tongue and in his heart, is undoubtedly the most perfect of languages and its

\* Cf. Harkavy, *Mittheilungen aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* I. 14.

† Cf. *Einleitung zu Sal. Ibn Parchons Machbereth*—ed. Stern p. xxiii. Zunz, *Jubelschrift*, p. 194.

‡ Cf. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker*. p. 34 sq.

§ *Kitābulustūl*, ed. Neubaur, col. 21, line 30.

¶ David Kimchi in his lexicon s. v. אדם: ואדם נקרא על שם הארמה אשר לוקח משם: אדם.

Kimchi had Gen. 3:19 in mind, while Abulwalid was thinking of 2:7.

¶ Cf. *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. de Lagarde (1887), p. 27.

\*\* Bereschith rabba c. 18 and c. 31.



expressions are the most appropriate for the objects by them designated. To illustrate, we read in Gen. 2:19, "as man named every living thing, that was its name;" that is, the creature designated merited this name, it was appropriate to it, and exhibited its relationship. (IV. 25 p. 268, Cassel p. 341 sq.)

The view of Jehuda Halevi, that language was divinely communicated to man's soul and vocal organs, has found representatives in recent times (in 1766 in Berlin appeared Süßmilch's, *Beweis dass der Ursprung der Sprache göttlich ist*). The Mahometan scholar who exercised a great influence upon Jehuda Halevi's thought, the famous Algazâlî, devoted to the question of the origin of language, a special chapter of his dogmatic writings,\* and states after having presented the various opinions, that the choice lies between the two views, either that to reason was granted the capability or power of framing language, or that language was given to man by revelation.† The latter view Jehuda Halevi accepted as his, and with the greater readiness as it agreed with his opinion as to the pre-eminence of the Hebrew. Abraham Ibn Esra held the other view; according to him, man was given the capability to originate thoughts and to lend to them expression.‡ However Ibn Esra adopted Jehuda Halevi's explanation of Gen. 2:19; according to which the verse expressed the idea that the names of the living creatures were appropriate and in accordance with their nature. Hence he remarks on the words of the text, **הוא שמו**, "according to its nature." So also in the earlier partially preserved commentary on Genesis.§ In the complete commentary he says expressly || **שקרא שמות לכל הבהמה והעוף כפי תולדת כל אחד ואחד** Jehuda Halevi calls the Hebrew language in another passage (II 72 p. 128, Cassel p. 272) the "Created Language"¶ and possibly the passage in the former section which is translated "in Adam and Eve's reception of the revelation" should read instead "it was revealed to Adam and Eve." The Arabic text gives this sense **אללגה אלתי אחי בהא**, which is easier to understand than that of the Hebrew translator Jehuda Ibn Tibbon, followed by Cassel and Hirschfeld in which is found **אשר דבר בה השם יתברך עם אדם וחווה**. In an earlier stage of the investigation before Jehuda Halevi had presented his views on the excellence of the Hebrew language, he discussed the question of the origin of the language or rather the languages, and reached the conclusion, that they had arisen not in eternity but in time, (and that through the conventional form of the inflectional endings (I 53-56)). Here then has come in the common view of grammarians and

\* M. Schreiner in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* XXI comments on this.

† ואלמכתאך פי הדא אמא אן ררגע אלי אלנאזא אלעקלי או אלי אלוקיע אלסמעני

‡ v. *Abr. Ibn Esra als Grammatiker*. § 3.

§ v. Friedländer's *Essays on the writings of Ibn Esra* (London 1877) Hebrew part. p. 38.

|| It is to be observed that in Ibn Esra, "nature" is always represented by **תולדות** not by the Arabic **טבע**.

¶ לשונונו הנוצרת הכרואה Hebrew. לגתנא אלמכלוקה אלמכתרעה

philosophers (chiefly the Mu'tazilites)\* as the premise for further adduction of proof: while later this view for the original speech of the Hebrew is silently set aside, and the revelation of the latter is taught.†

### 3. THE LANGUAGES RELATED TO THE HEBREW.

Abraham, who was witness of the confusion of tongues, with his dependents clung to the Hebrew language, named after his ancestor Eber (I 49 § 22). But this was for Abraham a sacred language. For secular purposes he spoke the Aramaic (Syriac), the language of Ur Kasdim where he was born.

This was carried by Ishmael to the Arabs, so that after the Arabic had developed, the three closely related languages were the Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew. The relationship showed itself in the words, as well as in grammatical rules and inflexions (II 68, p. 126, Cassel p. 168).

We have here a remarkable attempt to establish a historical hypothesis for the relationship of the three chief Semitic languages which since Jehuda Ibn Koreish has been so richly developed and generally employed. Abraham spoke two languages, which were near akin, Hebrew, holy; Aramaic, secular. The sacred language became the language of the lineal descendant of Abraham, who received the revelation, receiving also in this way the character of sacredness. The Aramaic, through the other son, Ishmael, was brought to Arabia, and from it arose the Arabic. Another hypothesis for the relationship of the Arabic with the Hebrew, is found in Jehuda Halevi's pupil, Salomon Ibn Parchon: One of the brothers of Eber, mentioned in Gen. 11:15, is עֶבֶר (Isa. 25:26) who was the ancestor of the Arabs.‡

### 4. THE FORMER RICHNESS OF THE LANGUAGE.

One can form conclusions concerning the pre-eminence of the Hebrew language, when one considers what people used it in daily conversation, especially when one remembers that all prophecies, religious exhortations—the hymns and poems of the people were in this tongue, and when one further reflects that men like Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon stood at the head of the people. It seems inconceivable that any expression whatever should have been found wanting even though many Hebrew phrases have disappeared before the present time.

We have simply to cast a glance at the descriptions in the Thora<sup>4</sup>, of the Tabernacle, the Ephod, and breastplate, and similar descriptive passages, for

\* Cf. Goldziher in *ZDMG*. XXXI p. 49.

† As an interesting analogy to the view of the Hebrew language represented by Halevi, the view of a modern oriental scholar is presented, communicated by Fleischer (*Kleine Schriften* III. 135) (it is the well known Philologist Potrus Bistani in Beirût) in a conference held in the year 1859. He says Arabic was communicated to Adam by revelation; this at least I believe must be held, that Arabic and its two sisters Syriac and Hebrew are different branches and remnants of that revealed Adamite speech.

‡ v. Stade's *Zeitschrift für ATW.*, xi. 39.

which rare words are necessary to be convinced of the perfect vocabulary which the Hebrew language offers for a description and of the rhetorical excellence of the style. The same is true of the names of nations, of birds and stones.\* One must further in order to appreciate the richness of the language study the Psalms of David, the Lament of Job, and his arguments with his friends, the warnings of Isaiah, his promises and threats, as well as the other monuments of the early period which have been preserved. (II. 68 p. 126, Cassel, p. 169.)

With this presentation, the Chaber answered the remarks of the Chazar king, that other languages were apparently more perfect and complete than the Hebrew. (II. 67.)

He refers probably chiefly to the Arabic, as the Hebrew translation of Ibn Tibbon makes special mention of the Arabic in the remarks of the king, instead of language in general. Moreover, it was common with the Hebrew philologists of the middle ages to emphasize the extraordinary verbal richness of the Hebrew language as shown by the vocabulary of the biblical books.†

#### 5. ON HEBREW PHONOLOGY.

To the excellences of the Hebrew language in virtue of which the beauties, peculiar to the biblical Hebraism, could develop themselves, and upon which also the mode of transmission of the Bible text, fixed by the Massoretic accent system, rests, belong the following phenomena in Hebrew phonology (II. 78, 80, p. 128 sq. Cassel, p. 175 sqq.).

1. Two "resting" (unvocalized) consonants may stand together,‡ but three "active" (*bewegte*) consonants (i. e. consonants provided with a vowel) cannot follow each other consecutively,§ unless, however, some urgent cause might necessitate this.||

By this means the speech received the basal principle of the "resting," (*ruhenden*) (i. e. of the enduring pause) and attains the advantage of being fitted for ordinary reading: whereby, also, is facilitated the preservation in mind and the imprinting of the substance of what is read, upon the soul.

\* In Ibn Tibbon's translation the words *ומיני העופות והאבנים* are connected immediately with.... *ומיירות דוד*. Accordingly Cassel translates and connects with each other in a remarkable way two such heterogeneous things. In the Arabic original a word unobserved by Ibn Tibbon precedes the enumeration of the Biblical Classics (David, Job, Isaiah), namely *ואעתכא*. This is coördinated with the word standing at the beginning of the passage (l. 3) viz. *פאעתכא* and introduces a second proof for the excellence of the language. Hirschfeld, who translates according to the original, has not understood the expression and translates "....with the names of nations, birds and stones, the designations of the praise songs of David....and with other things."

† See Cassel's remarks on this passage.

‡ E. g. *וַיִּבֶן וַיִּשֶׁת*, also *צור*, where the mater lectionis is treated as a "resting" letter.

§ I. e., with interruption by a resting letter: as is the case in Arabic *qā-tā-lānī*. A consonant accompanied with a long vowel, is treated as an "active" letter, upon which a "resting" letter (the expressed or suppressed mater lectionis) follows.

|| In cases like *נָחַלִי הָלִלִי* compound *š'wa* is treated as a vowel.



2. The retention of the seven principal vowels (Kings); especially, however, the fine and exact distinction between Qameç and Paṭṭaḥ, between Sere and Segol; the employment of this distinction to distinguish word-forms with similar sounds but different meanings, like the perfect **שָׁמַחְתִּי**,\* and future consecutive, **וְשִׁמְחֵנִי**, **וְאֶבְרַכְהוּ** and **וְאִבְרַכְהוּ**, and the verb **חָנַם** and adjective **חָנֵּם**.

3. Through the joining of two "resting" consonants, the language gains euphony in the connecting parts of speech.† This peculiarity makes it possible for a whole congregation to recite a Hebrew text in unison without following a tune.

The three points require further explanation, especially as I felt obliged to differ at the first point and at the conclusion of the last, from the usual conception of these passages in Kuzari.‡ As regards the first point it is founded on the last of the four rules for Hebrew phonetics given by Chajjug,§ but only so far as the succession of the "active" letter is concerned. Respecting the permitted succession of the "resting" consonants, which has only been cursorily indicated in the beginning of the first point, but which forms the substance of the third, I have to remark that here Jehuda Halevi differs from Chajjug's third rule as also does Abraham Ibn Esra|| and follows Abulwalid, who also adds forms like **וַיִּשֶׁת** to the cases in which two "resting" consonants can stand together, while according to Chajjug the second consonant is to be read as moving with the next words.¶

Both phonetic peculiarities mentioned in the first and third points, give, according to Jehuda Halevi, the Hebrew language this advantage that texts can be recited in unison by a great number of people. In the third point this is especially mentioned and it is added that the recitation in unison takes place, **דִּין לֶחֶן** (p. 130, l. 25).

These two words, Ibn Tibbon translates by **מְבִלִי טְעוֹת**, mentioning as example one meaning of the Arabic verb **לֶחַן** "erravit in legendo." That this illustration is not in accordance with the passage has been felt by Cassel as well as by Hirschfeld; the former translates therefore "without discord," the latter "without one disturbing the other." Each is quite arbitrary. The simple explanation accepted by me is probably the most correct. Jehuda Halevi means to say that the unison in reciting is effected even without the melody by which it is produced in singing.

\* According to the punctuation of the older grammarians.

† P. 130, l. 24 is to be read **כִּכְחָ** instead of **כִּכְחָ**.

‡ Derenbourg alone gives the text to the first point with the proper translation in the work mentioned in the next note (p. lxxxiii.).

§ See Derenbourg, *Opuscules et traités d'Abou'walid*, p. lxxx.

|| See Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker, p. 65.

¶ See Morris Jastrow's *Dissertation on Chajjug's Grammatical works*. (Giessen, 1885) p. 29, Note 1.

But perhaps he understands by **לחן** not melody in general, but as, in the immediately succeeding new passage, (**ללחן אצא שרוט**) the mode of recitation of biblical texts marked by the Massoretic accents as well as recited in unison by the assistance of a melody. Here Ibn Tibbon translates the word correctly with **טעמים**. One is almost inclined to believe that **מבלי טעות** is a corruption of **מבלי טעמים** which could easily have happened with the abbreviation **מבלי טע**.

In the first point, the sense found by me in the Arabic text has not been recognized by the commentators and translators. The words on which the argument depends are in the original (p. 128, l. 26), **פגא אלכלאם אלסכון ואכסב הדא**, **אלפצילה** **אעני** **אלאלפה** **ואלנשאט**; **ובא** **הריבור** **נוטה אל הנח והועילה זאת המעלה ר** **ל** **החברה והחריצות** **על הקריאה**.

Cassel translates:—"Where the speech inclines toward the 'resting' (consonant?) this peculiarity, namely, the fixed uniformity of sound, assists the reading considerably." According to Hirschfeld:—"Then the speech comes to a rest and has attained this advantage, namely euphony or fluency in reading." The same misconception is common to the otherwise differing translations. The Arabic **אלפה**, Hebrew **חברה** is translated "similarity of sound." The word in reality is to be understood in the same way as in a preceding sentence (l. 17) **אלא** **אנא** **נפסד וצע לגתנא אלתי וצעת ללאלפה פנרדהא ללשתאת**.

The Chaber says this (II. 74):—"By the application of the Arabic metre to Hebrew we destroy the natural tendency of our language, which is intended to unite more closely those who speak it, whilst through this artificial metre we make it a source of division and confusion." This sense, which again was not recognized (Cassel:—"we spoil the nature of our language, which is founded upon unisonous tone, and produce discord;" Hirschfeld almost literally the same) is evident in the continuation of the conversation. "How is this to be understood," asks the king (II. 75), "that is, in what respect is it the nature of the Hebrew language to encourage unity?" whereupon the Chaber responds (76):—"Have you not seen how a hundred people read the Holy Scriptures as if they were but one man, how they stop at the same moment, and resume at the same instant?" The king answers (77), that he has observed this and never seen the like among the Arabians or Persians. "But," says he, "how did the language acquire this power," (**הדא אלפצילה**) and how does the metre destroy it? Thereupon the Chaber replies, first (78) with the sentence given above that through the phonetic peculiarity of the Hebrew the pause has come into the language\* and the language has in consequence gained (read *üksibā*) this advantage, (**הדא** **אלפצילה**), namely the possibility of unisonous recitation, and the encourage-

\* **אלכלאם** is the object of **גא**, **אלסכון** the subject.

ment of concert reading." This is a literal translation of the passage which was more freely described above.

How the before mentioned result is produced from the cause given by Jehuda Halevi, can be set forth as follows. Because the speech, through the partiality for syllables and words ending in "resting" consonants, and the prohibition of a continued series of short open syllables, is obliged to pause at short intervals, it becomes possible, by a unisonous recitation, which pays attention to the frequent points of rest, to acquire perfect harmony in reading, and this peculiarity in effects promotes recitation in unison, and there produces closer unity between man and man (חִבְרָה, אֶלְפָּה).

The second point, which like the other two has mainly in view the contrast with the Arabic, calls attention to the wealth of vowels in the Hebrew language, as also the part which vowels play in the distinction of word-forms.

#### 6. THE HEBREW VOWELS.

The pronunciation of the vowels in Hebrew can be divided in three ways: Closing, (seil. of the mouth), opening, and breaking (violently drawing apart); upon further subdivision we find the following vowels. I. 1. The great closing, or Qameç. I. 2. The medium closing or Hôlem. 3. The little closing or Šureq. II. 4. The great opening or Paṭṭaḥ. The little opening or Segol. III. 6. The great "drawing apart" or Šere. 7. The small drawing apart or Hireq. The Š'wâ can be pronounced in each of these ways according to the rules laid down for it; it designates vowel pronunciation pure and simple, without any addition which would require a "resting" sound after it (II. 80, p. 130 sq. Cassel, p. 182 sqq.).\*

The seven Hebrew vowels (the seven kings) which differ one from the other in the Massoretic punctuation, have already been traced back by Abulwalid† to three main vowels. He designates them by their Hebrew names, חֶרֶק, שֶׁרֶק, פֶּתַח. These are the "mothers, roots" (אִמֹּת, אֲצוּל) of the vowels, the others are the "daughters, branches." Jehuda Halevi acts logically, and indeed more correctly, in not bringing forward three of the seven vowels as principal vowels. He mentions, as "directions" (נְהָאֵת) of the "movement" in vowel pronunciation, the three different methods of mouth-formations which he designates by the three Arabic words (כֶּסֶר, פִּתְחָה, צִמְּה) and under which he classifies all the seven vowels. Herein he agrees with Abulwalid, but differs materially with him in regard to the vowels of the first class, for, according to Abulwalid, Šureq ranks above Holem, and this above Qameç; our author names them in the following order Qameç, Holem, Šureq. This difference is explained by the fact that Abulwalid proceeds from the closed mouth, and therefore gives the first place to

\* Cf. also III. 31 (p. 180; Cassel, p. 238), where Jehuda discusses the oral tradition of vowel pronunciation and that which was afterwards fixed by signs.

† In *Takrîb wataškîl*, v. Derenbourg, *Opusculs*, p. 275.



Šureq (u) and also considers this the main vowel of its class; next comes Holem (o) which is produced by a somewhat less forcible closing, and then the Qameç (a) which approaches closely to Paṭṭaḥ. Jehuda Halevi, on the contrary, takes into consideration the size of the opened mouth during the pronunciation of the vowel. Therefore Qameç is assigned the first place, Holem the second, and Šureq the third. Only thus is there any meaning in his designations "Great," "Medium," "Little." There is no question here of quantity, even in a relative sense, as Cassel would have us think.\* Abraham Ibn Esra in the beginning of his *Zachôth* adopts the view of Abulwalid, and also the theory of the parallel to the three principal vowels in the three elementary movements of the world (upward, downward, roundabout),† but he makes the leading vowel of the first class not Šureq, but Holem.

In the Hebrew alphabet the letters ם ה ו ך occupy the first rank, because they designate the vowel pronunciation without which the other letters would be soundless. They are, one might say, the souls which give life to the other letters. The ם and ה belong to the A-group of vowels, the ו to the O-group, the ך to the I-group,‡ (p. 230, Cassel p. 303). Since ה and ם belong first of all to the long Qameç, this vowel was not reckoned in the O-group but in the A-group.§ The symbol of soul and body, for the relations of vowel and consonant has been adopted in *Zôhar*.||

What Jehuda Halevi says in the first place about the pronunciation of the Š'wâ is the substance of the well known traditional rules for pronouncing the Š'wâ *mobile*, which are already found in Aharon b. Asher. The second part of the remark means that after the Š'wâ neither a final consonant nor a *mater lectionis* is permitted.

## 7. THE THREE STAGES OF WORD-FORMATION.

1. By contemplating every separate word and each of its letters, without regard to the influence produced on its pronunciation by the connection in which it is placed, that is to say, without regard to connection and pause, long and short words etc., one obtains a knowledge of the laws by which the word in the first stage of its formation is pronounced. This first formation (תכונה, וציע) shows the vowels in their original, unchanged use and the Š'wâ without Ga'ja (Methegh).¶

\* See Cassel's translation, p. 183. "The great Qameç," "the medium Qameç" etc. is not correct. The קמץ of Ibn Tibbon is not a vowel name, but like the Arabic original قَمَطَة, descriptive of the form of mouth used in the pronunciation of the three vowels, which belong here.

† See *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* p. 61 sq.

‡ As to how the letters of prolongation (*matres lectionis*) belong to the individual vowels, J. H. explains in the leading paragraph (II. 80) of this discussion.

§ See Cassel, p. 183.

|| See Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre* p. 174; *Abr. Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* p. 31; *Revue des Etudes Juives* XXII. 225.

¶ At one point he designates these more definitely thus: באלטבע באלוצען אלאול p. 132 l. 10. It is thus the "natural" form of the word.

2. In the second stage the pronunciation of the separate word is often changed relative to the euphony in connecting the expressions and in the connection of speech.

3. The third stage is the sentence as it is to be read with accentuation, whereby the pronunciation often becomes different from the first two stages (II. 80 p. 132, ll. 16-23, Cassel, p. 185).

By the above definitions Jehuda Halevi gives distinctly the outlines of his peculiar theory, by which he contemplates the pronunciation of the Hebrew word in the three-fold stages, as word-individual; as member of the syntactically connected sentence; as part of the unity of a verse provided with Massoretic accentuation. From the point of view of these three stages, he tries to explain in a very fine and intellectual manner, a series of remarkable phenomena in the domain of the science of Hebrew word-formation, and to trace them back to a uniform principle. With regard to these phenomena produced by the Massoretic punctuation, he says at the end of his definitions (p. 138, l. 4):\* The founder of this subtle science (the Massoretic punctuation) hinted at many secrets still, which are hidden from us, but which we have in part found out, by suggesting to us the true sense of Bible passages through niceties of punctuation. Yet Jehuda Halevi only mentions, as an example of the exegetical significance of the Massoretic punctuation, the already discussed example **הָעוֹלָה** (Eccl. 3:21). In general it is only on grammatical details that Jehuda Halevi throws light, and some of these may be cited here as illustrations of his peculiar theory of the three stages.

1). From the rules of the vowels (132, 3-16), the one concerning **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** must be mentioned. **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** are not followed in the first stage by a "resting" letter of prolongation, while the second stage prolongs them, either because serving as support for the pronunciation (the accent of the word falling on them) or because they have an accent themselves or stand in pause. In modern terminology the rule would read thus. **Paṭṭaḥ** and **Segol** are by nature short vowels, in the second stage they become long.

2). The verbal-form **פָּעַל** presents a pronunciation contrary to that of the vowels of their two syllables, leaving the first syllable with the long vowel **Qameṣ** unaccented, while the second syllable with the short vowel **Paṭṭaḥ** is pronounced with a prolongation on account of the accent. In the vowels, we recognize the first stage; in the pronunciation necessitated by the speech, the second stage. That the prolongation of the second syllable of **פָּעַל** is due only to tone, not to a quiescent weak letter, is seen in such cases as **אָמַר-לִי**, (Gen. 20:5), where on account of the short, accented little word on which the verb rests, the latter remains in the first stage and the first syllable is accented, (p. 134, l. 5-8).

\* "A glorifying of this wonderful science" v. c. III. 32.

3). The noun-forms of the type **פֶּעַל** prolong the first syllable although it contains Segol. This remarkable fact we will understand, when we consider that, if the first syllable were not prolonged, the second one would have to be. This would have produced the strange fact that between the Segol of the second syllable and its ending consonant a quiescent weak letter would have been inserted. On the other hand, the natural place for the prolongation (the accent) is on the first syllable, where the Segol stands in an open syllable, as the form **פֶּעַל**, thereby answers to a combination **פֶּן אֵל**, not **פֶּאן עֵל**, and even through the change of the Segol into Qameç **פֶּעַל** required by the pause, there would result a word-form answering to the likewise normal combination **פֶּן עֵל** (134, 23-28, 136, 1-2).\*

4). It is remarkable that nouns like **מַעֲשֵׂה מְרָאָה**, **מִקְנָה**, in the *status absolutus*, have the Segol in the second syllable, but Sere in the *status constructus* and in the forms with suffixes,† (where usually the shorter form is found). We understand this when we consider that the ה, the quiescent third radical of these word-forms is to be considered as not existing, so that the above words ought to be written without ה and therefore the preceding letter is pronounced with the lesser vowel, the Segol.‡ But the Segol becomes Sere when the necessity arises of bringing forward the third radical ה, as for instance in **מַעֲשֵׂהוּ מְרָאָהוּ**, **מִקְנֵיהוּ** (136, 21, 27).

#### 8. THE PRONUNCIATION OF שְׁתִּים

When Jehuda Halevi, so relates his pupil, Salomon Ibn Parchon,‡ came to Africa, he heard everybody pronounce the word **שְׁתִּים** as if it were **אִשְׁתִּים**. He, as well as his companion, Abraham Ibn Esra were surprised at this peculiarity, but found after due consideration that this pronunciation of the above mentioned numeral was quite justifiable. Jehuda Halevi explained it in the following way: since **שְׁתִּים** was derived from the masculine **שְׁנַיִם** and the נ in the root of this numeral had been replaced by the Dagheš in the ת there had to be heard a vowel\*\* (like אֵ) before the vowelless ש, because otherwise the ת could not have been pronounced with a Dagheš as the letters **ב ג ד כ פ ת** after the š'wâ (mobile) have to be aspirated. This pronunciation **אִשְׁתִּים** answers to the rule

\* By the side of the supposed forms **פֶּעַל** the corresponding anomalous combination would be **פֶּן אֵל**.

† **אִשְׁתִּים** means both.

‡ About Segol it is said on a similar occasion, p. 130, l. 12, **לֹאנָה אֵקֵל אֶלְחִרְכָּאת תַּמְכָּנָא** (because it is the vowel occupying the least space).

§ This must be, as is plain, the correct reading not **מַעֲשֵׂה**, **מְרָאָה** or **מְרָאָם** as the latter form does not exist.

|| The closing words of this passage defy any attempt at explanation **לִיקוּם עֲנֵד אֶלְאֲצַפָּה מִקָּאם אֶלְפַתַּח פִּי מְרָאָם מַעֲשֵׂה**.

¶ Mahbereth Hearukh, ed. Stern, Intro. 4 c.

\*\* In Ibn Parchon designated by the form **גַּעִיָּא**.



by which in words like הִפְכֵּכֶם (Is. 29:16) בִּרְכַּת (Job 29:13) יִרְכֶּה the third letter is pronounced with Dagheš, since it follows a “resting” consonant, with the exception of a few examples fixed by the Massora. Therefore שְׁתִּים ought not to be read שְׁתִּים because then the word would be joined to the root שָׁתה, to drink, (cf. שָׁתה from שָׁתה Gen. 24:18).<sup>\*</sup> This is the argument of Jehuda Halevi as it may be understood from the rather confused representation of Ibn Parchon. Ibn Esra, who on this occasion is mentioned as acquiescing in the reason for this pronunciation, afterward refuted it.<sup>†</sup>

#### 9. THE MEANING OF THE ACCENTS.

The aim of the language is: To cause the thoughts and feelings bred in the soul of the speaker to penetrate the soul of the listener. This aim can only be reached perfectly by verbal conversation on account of the advantage which it has over written communication. For oral speech has the most varied expedients at its disposal. The stopping at a pause, the lingering on parts of speech which belong together, the modulation of tone, motions of the hands, and expression of the eye in sentences of admiration, interrogation, narration, promise, threat or prayer, as well as movements (gesticulations) for which there is no verbal equivalent.<sup>‡</sup> The speaker often makes great use of the motions of the eyes, the eye-brows, the whole head and the hands in order to express anger or good will, humility or pride in differing degrees. Along with that, which remains of the language of the biblical scriptures, has been preserved an ingeniously devised method, peculiar to them, which makes known the manifold contents of speech and takes the place of the above mentioned auxiliaries of verbal speech. These are the Massoretic accents (טעמים) with which the Holy Scriptures are read. By them pause and connection are alike depicted, through them question and answer, command and desire, eagerness and indifference, commencement of speech and conclusion, are separated from each other.<sup>§</sup> One could write whole volumes on this subject. (II. 72, p. 127, cf. Cassel p. 171 sq.) Salomon Ibn Parchon says in connection with the discussions on Arabic prosody to be mentioned in the following paragraph and quite in the spirit of the above explanation: “We have in our language a means by which the reader can distinguish surprise, threat, entreaty, confusion, question, act. For example compare the

<sup>\*</sup> The words of Ibn Parchon ר' יהודה בזה המעשה בכמה ראיות נכוחים are in need of a little correction, either וחזקם means ‘he confirmed the African Jews in their pronunciation’ or ‘הורה’ ר' is object, and the subject of וחזקו would be ‘כמה ראיות’ (not בכמה) that is: ‘several reasons confirmed R. Jehuda in this.’

<sup>†</sup> See *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker*, p. 65.

<sup>‡</sup> The words שמקצרת מהם המליצה הפשוטה תקצר ענהא אלעבארה אלכארגה (Ibn Tibbon) Cassel translates “By which ordinary speech can be shortened.” Hirschfeld “without which the external visible speech would not be sufficient.” Both are incorrect.

<sup>§</sup> אבְתְּרָא and אבְתְּרָא really mean subject and predicate in the nominal sentence.

question in Ex. 17:7; the perplexity indicated by the accent on וַיִּתְמַהֲמַה, Gen. 19:16; the entreaty in Ex. 5:15; rebuke Num. 23:19, and thus thou recognizest the rest of these modes of speech by the accent of the Bible passages, as if the prophet stood before thee and spake to thee face to face."

#### 10. THE ARABIC METER AND THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

A language in which the manifold feelings and affections are to be expressed by the means mentioned in the above paragraph, must without doubt refuse the metrical form. For metrical speech can only be recited in one way (fixed by the proper meter) and has to be connected where according to the sentiment, a separation ought to take place; interrupted, where the speech should continue; hence, if the expression be metrical, great care is necessary to avoid such offenses against the sense. (p. 128, Cassel, 173 sq.)\*

The use of the meter in the Hebrew not only destroys the manner of expression which adapts itself to the contents and is founded on the nature of the language, but also breaks the fundamental phonetic laws on which rests its fitness for producing unity (see above).

The use of the foreign meter is an act of sinful deviation from the truth and of the opposition to the laws of the holy language. The foreign meter transgresses in the first place the law of the Hebrew language, in accordance with which two "resting" letters can stand together; the difference between the accentuation of the ultima and the penultima would be obliterated; † אֶכְלָה is pronounced like אֶכְלָה; אֶמְרוּ occupies the same rank as אֶמְרוּ, אֶמְרוּ would be like אֶמְרוּ. In the meter one does not distinguish between שְׁבִתִּי (שְׁבִתִּי) the perfect tense and the future consecutive (וְשָׁבִתִּי). In the Pijut (i. e. the older synagogical poetry with rhyme but without meter), there is sufficient opportunity for the use of a poetical form without the transgression of the laws of the language.

Yet with the adoption of meter the same thing has happened to us, as happened to our fathers when the words of censure in Ps. 106:35 were uttered. "They were mingled among the heathens and learned their works." (II. 74, 78, pp. 128, 130, Cassel, p. 175, 179). This condemnation of the new Hebrew prosody derived from the Arabic, sounds forth as a confession of sin. Indeed we learn from Salomon Ibn Parchon, ‡ that Jehuda Halevi vowed never to write any more metrical poems; he said that the metrical poet only follows the meter and makes equivalent, words like שְׁמִתִּי and שְׁמִתִּי, אֶמְרוּ and אֶמְרוּ. What Ibn Parchon

\* The king remarks on this subject "In reality the preference granted to euphony ought to be displaced by that founded on the contents of the speech. For prosody delights the ear, but the Massoretic system pleases the mind.

† מלעיל, מלרע.

‡ l. c. p. 5b.

says just above on this subject, seems likewise to be derived from the remarks of Jehuda Halevi. Some of it is also to be found in the passage of Kuzari just reproduced. He says: for this reason (on account of the law mentioned in the first part by Jehuda Halevi, that in Hebrew, three "active" consonants can follow each other only exceptionally); the Israelites, before they mingled with the Arabs and learned their works,\* had no artistic poetry† with rhyme and meter; for the holy language is not like the other languages. If rhyme and meter had been appropriate to Hebrew, it would have been used by the old writers of the Psalms. What we are able to do with our little capacity and knowledge of the language, David and Solomon would certainly have done, yet in the Bible we find no rhymed or metrical verse. If the Hebrew language had been adapted to the forms of poetry, the old poets of Israel would certainly have used them earlier than any other nation of the world.‡

Already more than a century and a half before Jehuda Halevi's criticism of the new Hebrew meter, it had been made the object of a similar attack based on practical reasons. The pupils of Menahem b. Sarâk in a written controversy with Dûnasch b. Labrât, devoted their first chapter to a very elaborate proof of this thesis, that it is not allowable to use the Arabic meter in the Hebrew language.§ Dûnasch, if not the first who introduced Arabic prosody into Hebrew poetry was without doubt the one who introduced it into Spain. How little success the protest of the pupils of Menahem had against this innovation they themselves furnish evidence in their written controversy. They use in the poetical parts of their work the meter they repudiate and, indeed, as they themselves say, to show their opponent that they understood the easy art of verse meter as well as he. It is a tragical fact that he who had raised this art to the pinnacle of perfection, pronounced at the end of his brilliant career the same condemnation against it, with which the introduction of the metrical art into Hebrew poetry had been accompanied.

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\* קורם שיתערבו בערביים וילמדו ממעשיהם is an application of the Psalm verses quoted by Jehuda Halevi as well as a play upon the verb "to mingle" and the name of the Arabians.

† Ibn Parchon here makes use of the expression פיוטין in a larger sense than Jehuda Halevi in the above passage פיוט.

‡ That Jehuda Halevi did not completely abstain from the use of the artistic medium in his later poems, Kaufmann tries to prove. See his paper (Breslau, 1877) p. 46.

§ S. G. Stern *Liber Responsionum* (Vienna, 1870) p. 19-29.

[Translated by A. S. Carrier.]



## THE VOWEL-POINTS CONTROVERSY IN THE XVI. AND XVII. CENTURIES.

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The Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew, but the Hebrew character which appears in all existing Hebrew MSS. and printed editions, is not that which was always used. Another character was employed before the present. A change was made in the forms of the letters. They were wholly altered from their first condition. The so-called square character—such as we have it now—was introduced by Ezra as tradition has it, and the text prepared in these characters consisted only of consonants and had nothing of those ornaments of the letters as we now find them in our editions. These ornaments of the letters consisting of signs, points and strokes, partly below, partly above, partly within the text were the work of the so-called Massorites, and our text is therefore called the Massoretic text. The preparation of the Massoretic, or standard text, was commenced at a very early period and was finally settled in the eleventh century, and thus it happens that all extant MSS. and printed editions present one and the same text. But it was not always so. A comparison of our present Hebrew text with the Samaritan Pentateuch and with the Alexandrian version shows that other versions were current in the pre-Christian period, for otherwise we cannot account for the variations found in the Samaritan when compared with the Hebrew, in the Greek when compared with the Samaritan, in the Hebrew when compared with both. “And these variations” as Dillman observes, “are not to be set down to the charge of carelessness or willfulness on the part of the Hellenistic Jews and Samaritans, as was the old opinion, but are explained by the less weight then put upon exact uniformity of the text, and the existence of the mistakes in current copies. And when the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch agree in good readings, and still oftener in bad ones, against the Massoretic text, we are to conclude that these readings were spread by many copies current among the Palestine Jews, and are therefore not to look upon them as offensive, or thoroughly unreliable.” The Massoretic text was not known to the Talmud, i. e. as far as vowels and accents are concerned, nor to Jerome who translated from an unvowelled text; and the unpointed synagogue rolls of the present day are survivals of ancient custom. Upon what principles the work of the Massorites was done, we are not able to say, but it must be admitted that the text which they present is the best and most reliable, although not absolutely correct. The similarity of letters

would easily lead to a mistaken reading, and the Talmud (*Shabbath* fol. 103, col. 2) calls attention to a number of letters which must not be interchanged. From the Talmud we also learn many other things which are interesting in other respects. According to the Talmud, the Pentateuch contains 5,888 verses, the Psalms 8 more, and Chronicles 8 less. We call this computation the Babylonian, because the Talmud was the outcome of the learning of the Babylonian Jews. But the Massoretic work *Dikduke ha-Teamim* (ed. by Baer and Strack, Leipzig 1879) counts the verses in the Pentateuch 5,845, in the Prophets 9,294 and in the Hagiographa 8,064, so that the famous Jewish critic Norzi in his commentary on Levit. viii. 8 expresses his surprise at the difference between the Talmud and the Massorah, and hopes that Elijah the Tishbite will make everything clear.

The various readings so frequently found in the margins and footnotes of our Hebrew Bibles known as K'ri and K'thîbh i. e. read and written; K'thîbh w'lo K'ri i. e. written but not read; K'ri w'lo K'thîbh i. e. read but not written, the Talmud (*Nedarim* fol. 37, col. 2) traces back to Moses on Sinai. According to the Massorah as printed in the first Rabbinic Bible, the sum total of K'ris and K'thîbhs, occurring in the Bible, is 1,359; but the number is larger, as may be seen from table VIII. appended to the several parts of the Hebrew Bible edited by Baer and Delitzsch.

The Talmud mentions instances in which the scribes removed a superfluous *v'* which has crept into the text and which e. g. has been erroneously prefixed to *achar* in Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 55; Num. xxxi. 2. But upon examining the ancient versions we find that the Samaritan, Syriac, Septuagint and the Jerusalem Targum still have the ancient reading *v'achar*. This removal is called 'ittur Soferim.'

In the most ancient Jewish writings, such as *Mechilta* (a commentary on Exodus, first probably compiled about 90 A. D.), *Sifri* (a commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, compiled by Rab 219-247 A. D.), *Tanchuma* (a commentary on the Pentateuch, compiled by Tanchuma ben-Abha, who flourished about 440 A. D.) mention is made of the *tikkune Soferim* or "emendations of the scribes," according to which eighteen alterations were introduced into the text, in order to remove anthropomorphisms and other infelicities of expression.

From these few statements it will be evident that our Massoretic text can neither claim absolute completeness nor infallibility, as was held by the Buxtorfs and their party, in the interest of the then prevalent views of inspiration. In order to ascertain the true text, we must make use of such critical helps which lead to that end, for as Canon Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah* (3d ed.) vol. II., p. 240) observes: "the true spiritual meaning of the Scriptures can only be reached through the door of the letter, and the nearer we approach to a correct reading of the text, the more vivid will be our apprehension of the sacred truths which it conveys." The controversy whose history we give in the following pages has

yielded good fruits. It was a hard struggle, but the truth prevailed. And says the late Prof. Delitzsch in the introduction to his last edition of Genesis: "to give up traditional views which cannot stand the test of truth, is a sacred duty, a part of the fear of God."

After these introductory remarks we proceed to give the history of the controversy.

The study of Hebrew was cultivated but very little in the Christian Church in the centuries preceding the Reformation. Of the earlier writers "the name of Jerome stands out conspicuously, alike upon the roll of his predecessors and of his successors, until the time of the Reformation, as by far the most distinguished, perhaps the only Christian, writer of antiquity who was qualified to make an independent use of his Hebrew acquirements, and to whom the whole Christian Church will ever owe an inestimable debt of gratitude for the preservation of so large a portion of the results of Origen's labors and still more for that unrivalled and imperishable work which has been not inaptly described as having 'remained for eight centuries the bulwark of Western Christianity.'"<sup>1</sup> Since Jerome studied the Hebrew *ex professo*, he is the most important witness as to the state of the Hebrew text during the fourth and fifth centuries. From his writings it is obvious that Jerome was unacquainted with the present vowel-signs, for he never mentions them, and whenever he has occasion to describe words, he describes them according to the consonants alone. His usual expressions, accordingly, are *scribitur* and *scriptum*, *legitur* and *lectum*,—the former two referring to the letters, the latter two to the pronunciation—and the contrast implied indicating that while the consonants were written, the vowels were supplied by traditional usage. With this is connected the remark, that the "same word," i. e. the same letters (*idem verbum* or *sermo iisdem literis scriptus*) might be read (*legi*)—that is pronounced, and consequently understood (*intelligi*)—in various ways, according to the connection (*pro qualitate loci* or *locorum*, *pro consequentia*, *prout locus et ordo flagitaverint*), or according to the judgment of the reader (*pro arbitrio legentis*, *voluntate lectorum*), or the vernacular of the country (*pro varietate regionum*); and, on the contrary, two words (*utrumque verbum* as to signification), were written with the same letters. Such words he calls ambiguous (*ambigua*), and this peculiarity of the Hebrew mode of writing its ambiguity (*ambiguitas sermonis*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. art. *Hebrew Learning* in Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christian Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* 125 ad Damasum: "Idem sermo et iisdem literis scriptus diversas apud eos et voces et intelligentias habet, c. c. pastores et amatores iisdem literis scribuntur *Res Ain Jod Mem* (רע"ם): sed pastores *ro'im* leguntur, amatores *re'im*.—Isa. ix. 7 (דָּבָר): apud Hebraeos דָּבָר quod per tres literas consonantes scribitur, Daleth, Beth, Res; pro locorum qualitate si legatur *dabar*, 'verbum' significat; si *deber*, 'mortem et pestilentiam'; and Jer. ix. 21 (דָּבָר) verbum Hebraicum quod tribus literis, Daleth, Beth, Res, scribitur—'vocales' enim in medio non habet pro consequentia et legentis arbitrio si legatur *dabar* 'sermonem' significat, si *deber* 'mortem,' si *dabber* 'loquere.'—Isa. ii. 22 (בָּהֹרֶה) verbum Hebraicum vel ἑψωμα dicitur i. e. *excelsum* vel certe *in quo*, et iisdem litteris scribitur *Beth* etc., ac pro locorum qualitate si voluerimus legere 'in quo' dicimus *bammeh* sin autem 'excelsum' *bamah*.—Isa. xv. 7 (הָעֵרֶבִים), xxi. 13 (עֵרֶב); Jer. xvii. 9 (אֲנוֹשׁ)



It is from such ambiguity that he mainly derives the numerous "deviations and mistakes of the older translators"—especially of the Seventy—and excuses (*ambiguitate decepti*);<sup>1</sup> he blames them however for inconsequence, by translating one word occurring in the same connection in two passages differently, or where their version does violence to the *letters*, or interchanges words whose letters have no similarity to one another.

In giving his own version from the Hebrew, he appears sometimes undecided which is the right reading, and gives the deviations of former translators without making known his own judgment. Occasionally he indicates his opinion by *melius* or *magis*, as if one reading were more probable than another, because better suited to the connexion. Such cases however are the exceptions, for he is usually *decided*, and where he does give the grounds of his decision, he rests his exposition on these sources: a, he is often guided by the connexion alone; b, the authority of his better predecessors, particularly *Symmachus*<sup>2</sup> and *Theodotion*,<sup>3</sup> perhaps the majority of them in opposition to the Septuagint, determines him; c, above all, the authority of the Jewish rabbins by whom he was instructed (Jewish tradition) guided his translations.

Since Hupfeld has collected a number of passages from Jerome's writings in illustration of what has been stated above we refer to his essay *l. c.* p. 83 sq.

The result of our investigation, as far as Jerome is concerned, is a purely negative one.<sup>4</sup>

The next authority for examination is the Talmud, that Jewish cyclopædia, which contains all and everything. But in this work, also, we have no trace of written vowel-signs or accents, as some have supposed, nor does it contain even the incipient features of a written vowel system. The formulas, so frequently occurring in the Talmud "read not so but so," or "there is a reason for decision according to the mikrah and the massorah," have often been quoted as a proof that in the

*enosch et anusch*); Hos. xi. 10 (מִיָּם *miam* et *miam*); Mich. vii. 12 (מִצֹּר) *de Tyro* and *munition*. The same may also be said of the letter ש, which is everywhere regarded as one letter and is pronounced either *s* or *sh*. Thus Hab. iii. 4 verbum שׁוֹשׁ pro qualitate loci et *posuit* (שׁוֹשׁ) intelligitur et ibi (שׁוֹשׁ); Gen. xli. 29 (שׁוֹשׁ) et *juramentum* (שׁוֹשׁ) et *septem* (שׁוֹשׁ) et *satietas et abundantia* (שׁוֹשׁ) prout locus et ordo flagitaverint, potest intelligi." Cf. Hupfeld, *Kritische Beleuchtung in Studien u. Kritiken* 1830 p. 81 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxiv. 23 (לְבָנָה — חֲמָה) pro.....*luna* et..... *sol* LXX. transtulerunt *laterem* et *mūrum*. Quæ autem *erroris causa* sit sequentia, verba monstrabunt: sol lingua hebraica dicitur *hamma*, luna *lebana*. In praesente loco igitur LXX. pro luna etc. transtulerunt *laterem* hebr. *lebena* (לְבָנָה) 'verbi ambiguitate decepti,' rursum pro *hamma* posuerunt *homa* (חֲמָה).—Isa. xxv. 5 (חֲמָה) quare LXX. pro 'invio' vel 'siti' verterunt *in Sion*: 'error perspicuus est ob similitudinem verbi' *Sajon* et *Sion*, quod iisdem signatur elementis (cf. xxxii. 2).—Hos. xlii. 8 quaerimus quare LXX. pro *fumario*, quod Theodotion *καπνοδοχον*, *locustas* interpretati sunt. Apud Hebraeos 'locusta' et 'fumarium' iisdem literis scribitur Aleph etc., quod si legatur *arbe* locusta dicitur, si *arobba* fumarium. Cf. also Amos iii. 11 on צָר (LXX. and Aquila *Τυρος* = צָר) and iv. 13 on שׁוֹחַ — מָה, as given by Hupfeld, *l. c.*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See my art. s. v. in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

<sup>3</sup> See my art. s. v. *ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hupfeld in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1833.

time of the Talmud the text of the Scripture had been firmly settled in respect of the vowels no less than of the consonants. But this is a mistake. The formula "read not so, but so," relates solely to fanciful and playful changes of words in the text, so that witty applications may be made of them. Thus e. g. read not בְּנֵי "thy sons," but בְּנֵי־ thy builders;" or read not וְשֶׁם "and prepare," but וְשָׁם "and there," etc. It furnishes no proof that the Talmud recognizes written vowel-marks. The formula "there is a reason for decision according to the mikrah and the massorah" is used when two Talmudic doctors, disputing, base their different opinions on the same word in the text, but according to a different reading of it, the one being called mikrah, i. e. ecclesiastical or canonical reading; the other massorah, i. e. apocryphal or assumed one. The opposition between the two recorded in the Talmud shows that written vowel-signs were then unknown. Both refer to the vocalization, but in such a way as proves an unvowelled text, affording scope for interpretations deviating from the established pronunciation. Nothing can be adduced from the Talmud to prove the existence of the vowel-points; they are post-Talmudic and belong to a period posterior to the Talmud, since the treatise *Sopherim*,<sup>1</sup> whose redaction belongs to the ninth century, knows nothing of the vowels.

From what has been said, it is evident that Jerome knew no vowel-points, any more than the Talmud, and that the Alexandrian translators did not use a vocalized text. The Hebrew vocalization was, no doubt, suggested by the example of the Arabian, or more probably the Syriac writing; but, though it is analogous to that of the kindred languages, it is considerably richer and more elaborate. When the Hebrew vocalization was introduced, has long been a matter of uncertainty and dispute. According to a statement on a scroll of the law, which may have been in Susa from the eighth century, Moses the punctuator was the first who, in order to facilitate the reading of the Scriptures for his pupils, added vowels to the consonants, a practice in which he was followed by his son Judah, the corrector or reviser. These were the beginnings of a full system of Hebrew points, the completion of which has by tradition been associated with the name of the Karaite Acha or Achai of Irak, living about 550, and which comprised the vowels and accents, *dagesh* and *rapheh*, *K'ri* and *K'thibh*. It was, from its local origin, called the Babylonian or Assyrian system, or the Eastern system. The peculiarity of this system consists in having signs of a different shape to represent the vowels. Another peculiarity of this system is that the vowels are almost uniformly placed *above* the letters. It is therefore designated the *superlin-*

<sup>1</sup> *Sopherim* is the title of a Talmudic treatise, consisting of 21 chapters, and divided into three parts, the first of which has given the title *Sopherim* to the whole treatise. Part first, comprising chs. i.-v., contains directions for the copyist of the holy writings; part second, comprising chs. vi.-ix., contains the Massoretic part of the book; part third, comprising chs. x.-xxi., treats of the laws for the public reading in general and of the holy days. On the *Talmud* in general, see my art. s. v. in McClinck and Strong's Cyclopædia.

early system, and is best exhibited in the *Prophetarum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (ed. H. Strack, Petropoli 1876).

Almost simultaneously with these endeavors, the scholars of Palestine, especially of Tiberias, worked in the same direction, and here rabbi *Mocha*,<sup>1</sup> a disciple of Anan the Karaite, and his son Moses fixed upon another system of vocalization (about 570) distinguished as that of Tiberias and the Palestinian, or Western system. It is far more complete and extensive, and exhibits more sharply the niceties of the traditional pronunciation and intonation of the text than the Babylonian system, with which it competed, and was ultimately adopted by all the Jews. Even the Karaites, in spite of their antagonism to the rabbanites, at least, in 957 A. D., abandoned the older signs and adopted the Palestinian system of vocalization.

Thus much for the origin of the vowel-points, which during the 16th and 17th centuries were the cause of the fiercest controversy that agitated the republic of learning. Some centuries before, the dispute about the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew vowels commenced, and their authority was questioned. As early as the 9th century, Natronai II. ben Hilai, who was gaon or spiritual head of the academy in Sora (859-869), in reply to the question whether it is lawful to put the points to the synagogal scrolls of the Pentateuch, distinctly declared that "since the law, as given to Moses on Sinai, had no points, and the points are non Sinaitic (i. e. sacred), having been invented by the sages, and put down as signs for the reader; and, moreover, since it is prohibited to us to make any additions from our own cogitations, lest we transgress the command 'Ye shall not add' etc. (Deut. iv. 2); hence we must not put the points to the scrolls of the law."<sup>2</sup>

Such being the historical evidence, it is indeed surprising that the antiquity of the vowel-points should have been defended not only by Jews, but also by Christians and cause one of the fiercest controversies, to which a German Jewish scholar Elias Levita († 1549) gave the greatest impulse. Up to the time of Levita, the opinion prevailed in the synagogue, that the vowel-points were either given to Adam in Paradise, or communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai,<sup>3</sup> or were fixed by Ezra and the so-called Great Synagogue.<sup>4</sup> This view was deemed all the more

<sup>1</sup> See Pinsker, *Likute Kadmonioth* (Vienna 1860) p. 62, appendix; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* vol. V., p. 552; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums* I. 15 sq., 184 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The original is quoted by Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed* III, 200 from the Vitry Machsor, or a ritual of the synagogue of Vitry, in France, compiled about 1100 by Rabbi Sincha of Vitry, a disciple of Rashi, and obtained its name from the place in which the compiler lived. It not only comprises the whole cycle of the daily and festival services, but various legal and ritual laws from ancient documents. An account of the MS. of this Machsor (Brit. Museum Add. 27,200, 27,201) has been given by W. Wright in 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' July 1866, p. 356 sq.—When the younger Buxtorf, who took an active part in the controversy, asserts that up to Levita's time the antiquity of the vowel-points was taken for granted (*Tractatus*, pt. I, cap. 2, p. 3) he is certainly wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Fürst, *l. c.*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Buxtorf, *Tractatus*, p. 312 sq.



orthodox since the famous Zohar, the sacred code of the Kabbalists, declared that "the letters are the body, and the vowel-points the soul: they move with the motion and stand still with the resting of the vowel-points, just as an army moves after its sovereign" (vol. I., fol. 15, col. 2); and that "the vowel-points proceeded from the Holy Spirit which indited the Sacred Scriptures, and that far be the thought to say that the scribes made the points, since even if all the prophets had been as great as Moses, who received the law direct from Sinai, they could not have had the authority to alter the smallest point in a single letter, though it be the most insignificant in the whole Bible" (on *Song of Songs* 57<sup>6</sup> ed. Amsterdam, 1701).

Of course so long as the Kabbalah was believed to be a genuine revelation from God, and Simeon ben Jochai (of the 2d century) was believed to be the author of the Zohar, to whom God communicated all the mysteries, it was but a matter of course to believe in the antiquity and divinity of the vowel-points. But those, who implicitly followed the statement of the Zohar, did overlook the fact that there must have already existed a difference of opinion concerning the antiquity of the vowel-points, otherwise it would not have been necessary to defend the idea of the antiquity of the vowels with peculiar energy. And that such must have been the case we may infer from the fact that Christian writers before Levita, as we shall see farther on, who had Jews as teachers of Hebrew, did not believe in the antiquity of the vowel-points. But in a critical age like ours, no high authority is attached to the Zohar itself, because it has been shown that its author was not Simeon ben Jochai, but Moses de Leon<sup>1</sup> of the 13th century. Whatever Christian writers thought of, or wrote concerning, the vowel-points before the appearance of Levita's epoch-making work, entitled *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* was of little consequence to the Synagogue. When, however, this work was published at Venice in 1538, there was great consternation in the camp of Israel. Elias Levita (born about 1468, died 1549) was looked upon as the chief Jewish teacher of the age, and his denying the divine origin and antiquity of the vowel-points was regarded not only as heterodoxy, but as a most unpardonable sin. As Levita's book was translated into Latin by Sebastian Münster, within twelve months after its publication, it soon became known to the Christian world, and caused a controversy which lasted for two centuries. Levita's argument, which is fully developed in the third introduction, is as follows, according to Ginsburg's translation: At the very outset Levita denies the Sinaitic origin of the vowel-points. What the author of the book *Semadar*, Levi ben Joseph, says concerning the antiquity of the vowel-points (for which he refers to Deut. XXVII, 8), or what the author of the book *Horayoth ha-Kore*<sup>2</sup> says, needs either no refutation or is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my art. *Moses de Leon* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

<sup>2</sup> Ginsburg, on the authority of Steinschneider, ascribes this book to Ibn Balaam, who flourished in the 11th century; but see Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation*, p. 104 sq.

vain and wrong. And when Moses the Punctuator,<sup>1</sup> says—that the points were given on Sinai, but were forgotten again, till Ezra came and revealed them, Levita replies that either one or the other alternative is left. We must either say that God revealed to Moses the forms of the points and accents in fire, and that Moses showed these forms to Israel, and *did not* affix them to the words,—in which case the Israelites would have derived no benefit from seeing them; or we must say, that he *did* affix them to the words, and come to the conclusion that he wrote another codex, besides our Pentateuch, with points and accents, and recited it with them till they knew it, and that, afterwards, each one who wished copied it. In this case the question arises, How could the points and accents be forgotten, unless we say that all these copies were afterwards lost, which is altogether incredible. This is also the opinion of Aben Ezra,<sup>2</sup> who, in his grammar entitled *Purity* says, “There are many commentators who maintain that those who divided the verses committed blunders; but this is not correct. But I am perfectly astonished at it, for how could the divider commit blunders if he was Ezra the scribe? In short, after the divider there were none so wise as he was, since we see that, throughout the whole of the Scriptures, he never made a pause which is not in its proper place.” Thus far his remark. But I am astonished at his speaking here of one divider: there is no doubt that there were many dividers, as I shall show hereafter, and since Aben Ezra himself speaks of them in the plural. At any rate, his words here show that he was not of opinion that the accents were given on Sinai. I have also found the following words in a book called the *Purity of the Language* (*Zach Sephataim*): “We must know that the points were given on Sinai; not that they were put on the Tables of Stone; but, when the Lord spake in the holy language, those who heard him could distinguish between the vowel-points and syllables, both short and long.” The learned author of the *Khosari*<sup>3</sup> also remarks (III. 31) as follows: “The master replied, Doubtless the Pattach, Kametz, Sheber, Sheva, and the accents were committed to memory . . . and they put the principal vowels and the accents as marks to indicate which was received from Moses by tradition. What thinkest thou about it? that they have received the Bible first with divisions into verses, then with vowels, then with accents, then with definitions respecting the preservation of *plene* and *defective*, and even the exact number of letters?” From this we see, adds Levita, that he was not of opinion that Moses wrote them, but that it was only preserved in memory what Moses’ pronunciation was, viz. what distinction he made between the pronunciation of Kametz

<sup>1</sup> Flourished about the middle of the 13th century, and is the author of *Treatise embodying the Rules about the Points of Hebrew Scriptures*.

<sup>2</sup> Died about 1176.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. *Judah ha-Levi*, a distinguished Spanish philosopher, died about 1130 or 1142. The work referred to is a defense of Judaism against Christians and Mohammedans. It was of late published in the Arabic original and Hebrew translation by H. Hirschfeld, Leipzig 1887, who also published a German translation, Breslau 1885.

and Pattach between Tzere and Segol, etc. Would that this sage author had explained to us whom he meant by "they put," whether the men of the Great Synagogue, or the Massorites. I think that it refers to the Massorites.<sup>1</sup> Levita also mentions *David Kimchi* in his favor, who speaks of "inventors of the points, who made a distinction between the singular third person preterit and the participle, as they are pronounced alike." These authorities, and the very fact that up to this day the Synagogue Scrolls have neither vowel-points nor accents, he adduced in favor of his argument that the vowel-points were not Sinaitic. He goes even farther and says that they did not exist either before Ezra or in the time of Ezra, or after Ezra till the close of the Talmud. For this theory he proffers the following arguments: In the *first* place neither the Talmud nor the Hagadah, or the Midrash mention or make any allusion whatever to the vowel-points or accents. The expression: "Do not read so, but so," and "there is a solid root for the reading of the text, and there is a solid root for the traditional pronunciation," only show that there were no vowel-points. In the *second* place, he refers to the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 21, col. 2) where it is said, "Joab slew his teacher because he had performed the work of the Lord deceitfully in reading to him *sachar* (i. e. males), instead of *secher* (i. e. the memory, Deut. xxv. 19)." "Now is it credible," asks Levita, "that he would have attempted to read *sachar*, if they had had the points, and the word in question had been pointed *secher*?" In the *third* place, he refers to *Chagiga*, fol. 6, col. 2, where the passage "they brought burnt offerings and killed sacrifices," etc. (Exod. xxiv. 5) is discussed; Mar Sutra remarks, this discussion is necessary to know where to place the dividing accent. Proof enough that they had no accents. In the *fourth* place, he calls attention to the fact that almost all the names of both the vowel-points and the accents are not Hebrew, but Aramean and Babylonian, whereas the commandments given on Sinai were in Hebrew. To him it is undoubtedly true that the law which Moses put before the children of Israel was a plain codex, without accents and without points, and even without the division of verses, since according to the opinion of the Kabbalists, the whole law is like one verse, or as some say, like one word. And as for the K'rî and K'thîbh and the variations between the Easterns and the Westerns, they have nothing to do with the points, but refer to the variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, which were unquestionably written down after the invention of the points and accents. And says Levita, if it be asked: How was it possible, before the invention of the vowel-points to teach a child the correct reading from a book which was not pointed? he would say that the sacred tongue was the language which all spoke, since they had no other language till they were led captive from their land. When, therefore, a child was being taught

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<sup>1</sup> According to the connection, there can be no doubt that "they put" refers to the men of the Great Synagogue.



to know the letters, his teacher read with him from a book each verse two or three times, till he was familiar with it, and the child was conversant with the language; he could easily remember the words which he read, and whenever he met them again he read them without difficulty. You, therefore, see that it is possible to read without points. The same was the case among us, prior to the invention of the points, and it continued till the time after the close of the Talmud, which took place in 3989 of the creation = 436 after the destruction of the second Temple. Since then the sacred tongue began gradually to disappear, till the time of the Massorites, who are the men of Tiberias. They were great sages, and thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures and the structure of the language, more so than all the other Jews who lived in that generation, and none like them have existed since. This is also attested by Rabbi Jona (ibn Ganach), the Grammarian, in his treatise on the *Quiescent Letters*, which is as follows: "The distinction between the *resh* with and without the *dagesh* was well understood by the men of Tiberias, but not by us, for they knew better the purity of the language than all other Jews." Thus also, says Aben Ezra in the book *Purity*: "This is the manner of the sages of Tiberias, and they are the foundation, for from them were the Massorites, and from them we have received all our vowel-points." Levita comes then to this conclusion: "I have made it evident that the vowel-points and accents were neither given on Sinai, nor were they invented by the men of the Great Synagogue, but that they are the work of the Massorites, who flourished at a later period. Indeed, there were hundreds and thousands of Massorites, and they continued generation after generation for many years. No one knows the time when they commenced, nor when they will end in future." Thus far Levita.

A refutation of Levita's book was undertaken by the Jewish writer Azariah de Rossi,<sup>1</sup> in 1574, who in his work entitled *Meor Enayim* or "Light of the Eyes" derived the vowel-points from Adam but in such a manner that they were twice forgotten but twice restored, (once by Ezra and the Massorites). Moses did not punctuate the copy of the Law which he wrote, in order to give room to the oral tradition. The existence of the vowel-points, De Rossi thinks is indicated in the Talmud (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, col. 2),<sup>2</sup> in the cabbalistic works called *Bahir*<sup>3</sup> and *Zohar*; he appeals to Jerome (*Epist. ad Evagrium* 126),<sup>4</sup> to Deut. xxvii, 8; to the

<sup>1</sup> He was born at Mantua about 1514 and died 1577. The work referred to consists of three parts, which are fully described in my art. s. v. *Rossi Azariah* in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia.

<sup>2</sup> Here the passage Nehem. viii. 8 is thus explained: "and they read in the book, in the law of God," means the *original text*; "explaining it" means the *Chaldee paraphrase*; "and gave the same" means the *division of the verses*; "and caused them to understand the Scripture" means the *dividing accents or Massorah*.

<sup>3</sup> This book is generally ascribed to Nehunya ben ha-Kanah of the first century, but it is a later product.

<sup>4</sup> Because Jerome says: "it matters not whether it be called *salem* or *salim*, since the Hebrews very seldom (*perraro*) used the vowel letters in the middle," de Rossi deduces from *perraro* their existence and occasional use.

nature of all languages, especially the Hebrew. The high antiquity of the vowel-points was also advocated by Archevolti (of the 16th cent.) in his grammatical treatise *Arugath ha-Bosem* or *Trellis for Aromatic Plants* (Venice 1602). He believes that the vowel-points were given to Moses, who transmitted them orally till at last they were fixed by necessity. The letters are the body, the points the spiritual soul. Thus far the synagogue.

*What was the attitude of the Church towards the vowel-points question?* Great, it is true, was the impulse given by Levita. But long before Levita, voices were already heard which spoke of the novelty of the vowel-points, so that Buxtorf is certainly wrong when he says that before Levita no one denied the antiquity of the vowel-points.

The earliest witness against the antiquity of the vowel-points is *Raymond Martini*, member of the commission appointed by Clement IV. (1264), to examine the charges brought against the Talmud, and author of *Pugio fidei*,<sup>1</sup> which he completed in 1278. In this work, which was first published in 1642, then in 1687, he denies the antiquity of the vowel-points, the invention of which he ascribes to two rabbis Asher and Naphtali. The passage in question which is properly a criticism on Hosea ix. 12, runs thus: "Caeterum sciendum, quod nec Moyses punctavit legem, unde Judaei non habent eam cum punctis, i. e. cum vocalibus scriptam in votulis suis; nec aliquis ex prophetis punctavit librum suum; sed duo Judaei, quorum unus est dictus Nephtali, alter vero Ben Ascher, totum vetus Testamentum punctasse leguntur; quae quidem puncta cum quibusdam virgulis sunt loco vocalium apud eos: cumque venissent ad locum istum, et secundum orthographiam debuissent punctare **בְּשׁוּרִי** incarnatione mea, punctaverunt **בְּסוּרִי** in recessu meo ut opus incarnationis removerent a Deo."<sup>2</sup>

The next writer is *Nicholaus de Lyra* († 1340), who, after quoting Raymond Martini on Hosea ix. 12, remarks that the vowel-points were not from the beginning, for this reason the synagogue scrolls are also without vowel-points; at a very late time, however, the points were invented to facilitate reading. "Secundo," such are his words, "quia puncta non sunt de substantia litterae, res a principio scripturae fuerunt, unde et rotuli; qui in synagogis eorum leguntur, sunt sine punctis; sed per magnum tempus postea inventa sunt hujus modi puncta, ad facilius legendum."<sup>3</sup>

Next to De Lyra we mention *Perez de Valencia* (born about 1420 and died August 1, 1491), author of "Expositio Psalmorum Davidis" (Leyden 1512, 1514, 1517). In his *Proleg. in Psalmos*, tract. 17, he gives the following amusing account of the origin of the vowel-points: "Post conversionem Constantini Magni videntes Rab-

<sup>1</sup> For another point of view on the *Pugio*, cf. Neubauer's arts. *Jewish Controversy* and the *Pugio Fidei* in the *Expositor* (Febr.-March, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> Pars III, diss. III, cap. 21, p. 895. It is to be observed that some MSS., Aquila and Vulgate read **בְּסוּרִי**.

<sup>3</sup> *Postilla ad Hoseam* 9.

binos omnes Gentiles cum tanta devotione ad fidem Christi converti per totum orbem, et ecclesiam tanto favore prosperari et etiam quod infinita multitudo Judaeorum videntes manifestam veritatem per experientiam et miracula, pariter convertebantur, et sic deficiebant quaestus et reditus et tributa Rabbiorum, hac iniquitate commotos magna multitudo congregatos fuisse apud Babyloniam Egypti; quae dicitur cayre; ibique quanto magis caute potuerunt, conatos fuisse falsificare et pervertere Scripturas a vero sensu et significatione. Inde confinxisse supra quinque vel septem puncta loco vocalium, quorum punctorum inventores fuisse Ravina et Ravasse duos doctores eorum. Addit istos Rabbinos confinxisse libros Talmud." According to De Valencia, the two Rabbis Ravina et Ravasse, the authors of the Talmud, invented about five or seven points to serve as vowels; hence he maintains that no faith is to be placed in the Holy Scriptures, as the Jews now interpret and punctuate them; or, to use his own words: "ideo nulla fides adhibenda est scripturae sacrae, sicut hodie habent (Judaei) sic interpretatam et punctuatam." (*ibid.* tract. II, fol. 23).

In his *De arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (Ortona di Mare 1518), the Franciscan Petrus Galatinus († 1532) speaks also of the novelty of the vowel-points, by means of which the reading and understanding of certain passages has been corrupted (II, 8). To these Levitas before Levita also belongs the Oxford Professor Robert Wakefield († 1537). Twelve years before Levita published his *Massoreth*, Wakefield issued his *Syntagma de Hebraeorum codicum incorruptione* (Oxon. 1526), in which he denies most decidedly the antiquity of the vowel-points, which were invented by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali in order to deceive the Christians in those passages which favor the Christian faith. "Fatetur" says he, "puncta esse novitia postque Hieronymi aetatem excogitata et Judaeos ex additis punctis et apicibus ansam accipere ut dictionum significantias invertant ac mutant, atque ita scripturae sensum ad suam perfidiam deploratam quandoque trahere repugnantem. Verum utrum duo inter Judaeos sui temporis doctissimi Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali, qui ea adinvenerunt, ita per fraudem, quo nos deciperent ac illuderent de industria in locis illis, qui ad fidem nostram non spectant, ea scripturae addiderunt, et odii nostri ac suorum gratia favoreque aliam quam LXX. interpretes secuti sunt lectionem legendique modum, ut illis doctiores quoque viderentur; an ex inscitia prope sensuum obscuritatem et ignorantiam id fecerint, aliis judicandum relinquo. Hoc certe verissimum esse scio, quod in multis bene ac fideliter scripturam distinxerint ac punctaverint, eique convenientes et debitos simul ac tales, quales naturaliter exigebat addiderunt apices."

The novelty of the vowel-points was also advocated by the imperial field-chaplain Gerhard Veltwyck;<sup>1</sup> Augustinus Steuchus, bishop of Gubio († 1550), declared them to be a vain invention, whilst Genebrardus of Paris († 1597), as-

<sup>1</sup> See Neudecker in Herzog's *R. Ency.*, 1st ed., v. p. 894.



cribed them to Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. Of the same opinion were more or less the learned Masius († 1573),<sup>1</sup> Bodevianus or de la Boderie († 1598), Arias Montanus († 1598), Masius' co-adjutors in the Antwerp Polyglot, Politianus, etc., all of whom are quoted by Cappellus.<sup>2</sup>

With a very few exceptions the men of the Reformation period sided with Levita, and, with all veneration for the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments, the Reformers had a freer conception of the sacred writings and writers than was the case with many in the Post-Reformation period. Thus *Luther* remarks on Genesis XLVII. 31, where, following the Septuagint and Hebrews XI. 21 he decides in favor of reading "matteh" instead of "mittah;" at the time of Jerome, the points did not as yet exist, and the whole Bible was read without them ("absque illis tota Biblia lecta sunt"). On Isaiah IX. 6 he designates the points a new invention, which had no right to have more authority than the simple genuine meaning which was strictly conformable to grammar, as he did not care much for their (the Jews) grammatical superstition. Similar views he expressed in his "Shem ham-mephorash" where he calls the vowel-points "ein neu Menschen-Fündlein." His exact words are these: "es ist das Vortheil da, dass Moses und die Propheten nicht haben mit Puncten geschrieben, welche ein neu Menschen-Fündlein nach ihrer Zeit aufgebracht, darum nicht Noth ist dieselbe so steiff zuhalten, als die Jüden gerne wollten, sonderlich wo sie dem Neuen Testament zuwider gebraucht werden." When Pfeiffer<sup>3</sup> says: "aliter judicasset beatissima anima, si ipsius tempestate periculosissima sententiae Cappellianae consecraria fuissent notoria," it is very questionable whether Luther would have thanked him for this compliment.

According to *Zwingli* the vowel-points were for a long time not joined to the consonants, and they were not skilfully invented by the rabbis: "Hebraeorum litterae aliquando caruerunt vocalibus notis, quas parum civiliter Rabbini finxerunt et supposuerunt; quod non tantum hinc colligitur, quod et Hieronymus nullam prorsus eorum mentionem facit et vetustissimos eorum codices, etiamsi nunc habeant eas notas aliquando tamen non habuisse."<sup>4</sup>

*Calvin* agrees in the main with *Zwingli*, but speaks highly of the labors and industry of the rabbis, who made these points, which should be used judiciously. "Scio," he says, "quanta industria veteres scribae puncta excogitarint, cum jam linguae non esset tam communis et familiaris usus: qui ergo puncta negligunt vel prorsus rejiciunt, certe carent omni judicio et ratione, sed tamen habendus est aliquis delectus."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his comm. on Joshua iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Vindiciae Arcani Punctuationis*, praef. 17-22.

<sup>3</sup> Aug. Pfeiffer, *Crítica Sacra*, (Lipsiae 1688), p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Proefatio in Esaiam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Comm. ad Zachariam*, xl. 7, 9.

Besides we mention *Olivet*, († 1538) who, in the preface to his French Bible translation, says: "La douce pronuntiation des Ebrieux est sans points, comme jadis estoit;" *Theodor Beza* († 1605), *Joseph Scaliger* († 1609), *Hugo Grotius* († 1645), *John Mercier* († 1562), *Paul Fagius* († 1549), *John Drusius* († 1616), *John Piscator* († 1625), *S. Gessner* († 1605), *L. Hutter* († 1616), *Ludov. de Dieu* († 1642), *J. G. Vossius* († 1649), *Isaac Vossius* († 1688), *Dan. Charmier* († ?), *W. Schickard* († 1635) and others.<sup>1</sup>

But there were not wanting scholars in the Roman Catholic church, who like the Protestants rejected the antiquity of the vowel-points, as *Bellarmin* († 1621), *Genebrard* († 1597), *Pineda* († 1637), *Salmero* († 1585), *Villalpandus* († 1608), *Stapleton* († 1598), *Gregory Martin* († 1582), *Thomas Harding* († 1572);<sup>2</sup> but in doing so, the Romanists had a certain purpose in view. The Protestants, in rejecting the traditional vowel-points of the synagogue, wished to make the Bible, and the Bible alone without gloss and without tradition the rule of faith and practice. The Romanists, however, by rejecting the vowel-points, showed the uncertainty of the Hebrew text and the necessity of a certain guide to be found in the traditional interpretation transmitted by the Church of Rome. Thus the Jesuit *Thomas Harding*,<sup>3</sup> the antagonist of bishop *Jewel* argues as follows: "Among the people of Israel, the seventy elders only could read and understand the mysteries of the holy books that we call the Bible; for, whereas the letters of the Hebrew tongue have no vocals, they only had the skill to read the Scripture by the consonants, and thereby the vulgar people were kept from reading of it by special providence of God, as it is thought that precious stones should not be cast before swine; that is to say, such as be not called thereto as being, for their unreverend curiosity and impure life, unworthy."

While Protestants and Romanists agreed as to the modern origin of the vowel-points, there were others who contended for their antiquity. In England *Fulke* († 1589) wrote against *Martin's Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretics of our Days* his "Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongues, against the Manifold Cavils, Frivolous Quarrels, and Impudent Slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the Readers of Popish Divinity in the Traitorous Seminary of Rheims" (London, 1583; Parker Society edition, Cambridge, 1843) in which he declares (p. 578) "that seeing our Saviour hath promised that never a particle of the law shall perish, we may understand the same also of the prophets, who have not received the vowels of the later Jews, but even of the prophets themselves, howsoever that heathenish opinion pleaseth you and other papists." *Hugh Broughton* († 1612), too, defended the antiquity of the vowel points in his *Daniel: his Chaldee visions and his Hebrew*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, l. c. p. 81 sq.; Walton, *Prolegomena*, ed. Dathe (Lipsiae 1777), p. 127 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer, l. c. p. 81 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See *Works of John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury*, Parker Society edition, II, 678.

London, 1597, on chap. ix. 26. On the Continent this theory was advocated by Ant. Rud. Cevalerius or Chevalier († 1572) in his *Rudimenta Ebr.* c. 4, p. 23; by Marcus Marinus Brixianus (cf. his "Praefatio thesauri linguae sanctae," 1581), Wilhelm Postellus († 1581) in his "De originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae" etc., Paris, 1538; Junicus of Leyden († 1602), Amandus Polanus († 1610 at Basle), Gomarus († 1641), more especially by Matthias Flacius and Johannes Gerhard.

Matthias Flacius, the editor of the Magdeburg Centuries, who died in 1575, felt it his duty to save the antiquity of the vowel-points, as if they were inspired and as if with their acknowledgement life and blessedness were connected. Already in his magister dissertation in 1543 he advocated the high antiquity of the vowel-points, but in his famous work, entitled *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* (Basle, 1567), he more fully espoused the cause of the vowel-points on which he wrote a special section, entitled "On the Originality of the Hebrew Punctuation." In this section which is found in the 2nd part of his work, he traces the vowel-points back to Adam. "Mea est sententia," he says, "vocales, seu, ut vocant puncta una cum consonantibus jam olim (fortasse adhuc ab ipsomet Adamo) inventa omnesque sacrarum literarum scriptores integre dilucideque scripsisse, non solum consonantibus, sed et vocalibus eosque, qui contraria sentiunt, non solum falsa sentire sed et conscientiis ecclesiaeque, quae tantum certitudine verbi dei aedificatur, perniciose.".....

Flacius, it is true, was opposed by Nicol. Oelschlegelius, who wrote his *Tractatus de punctis contra Flacium* (1614), but the voice of the latter was soon drowned, for no less an authority than the famous dogmatist Johann Gerhard († 1637) in his *Loci Theolog.* I, cap. xiv., xv. not only supported the Flacian view, but even went a step farther and asserted the inspiration of the vowel-points as an object of faith. Gerhard's dogmatism as to the inspiration of the vowel-points, reached its climax in Switzerland as we shall see farther on.

The division among the Protestants seemed very opportune to the Romanists. Although averse to every and all innovations, the Church of Rome placed herself on the side of the anti-vowellists, not because she admitted the infallibility of the Bible, but because it suited her purposes best to use the argument as to the late origin of the vowel-points in order to confute the claims of the opponents to whom the Bible was the *norma normans* in matters of faith and practice. From the state of things she adduced the uncertainty of the Hebrew text, which can only be understood by the help of the traditional interpretation of the Church. The most influential champion of this theory was the Oratorian John Morinus (1591-1659), who in his *Exercitationes Biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus Sinceritate* etc., (Paris, 1633),<sup>1</sup> argued as follows: "the reason why God ordained the Scriptures to be written in this ambiguous manner (i. e. without points), is because

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the contents of this work, cf. Rich. Simon *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Rotterdam, 1685, p. 464 sq.; Rosenmüller, *Handbuch* I, 439 sq.



it was his will that every man should be subject to the judgment of the Church, and not interpret the Bible in his own way. For seeing that the reading of the Bible is so difficult and so liable to various ambiguities, from the very nature of the thing, it is plain that it is not the will of God that everyone should rashly and irreverently take upon himself to explain it; nor to suffer the common people to expound it at their pleasure; but that in those things, as in other matters respecting religion, it is his will that the people should depend upon the priests."<sup>1</sup>

To this argument Richard Simon<sup>2</sup> replies in the following manner: "On pourra dire aussi, par la même raison, que Dieu a voulu soumettre les Mahometans à leurs docteurs pour l'interprétation de l'Alcoran, parce qu'il est écrit aussi-bien, que le texte Hébreu de la Bible, dans une langue, qui n'est pas moins inconstante d'elle-même que la langue Hébraïque. Mais sans qu'il soit besoin d'avoir recours au conseil secret de Dieu, il est certain que la langue Hébraïque a cela de commun avec les langues Arabe, Chaldaïque et Syriaque, qu'elles sont de leur nature fort imparfaites, n'ayant pas assez de voyelles, pour rendre la lecture des mots qui les composent constante et tout-à-fait arrêtée."

But while the vowellists and Romanists contended for their respective dogmatic hobby, none of them took the pains of examining Levita's arguments, or of corroborating or refuting his statements. To be or not to be was the question on both sides, and, besides, neither of the two parties had sufficient Talmudical learning and critical tact. The first attempt to meet Levita's book was made, as has already been stated above, by the learned Azariah de Rossi, in 1574-75, in chap. LIX. part. iii of his work *Meor Enayim* or the *Light of the Eyes*, wherein he tried to prove the antiquity of the vowel-points from the "Zohar" and the "Talmud." But unhappily De Rossi's work was not so well-known, if known at all, as Levita's, which was translated into Latin soon after its appearance. However, the man came to the rescue of the vowellists in no less a person than the famous John Buxtorf († 1629), the author of the famous *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum Rabbinicum*, not to mention his Rabbinic Bible and especially his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, published in 1620. The title *Tiberias* is rather curious, since in his work Buxtorf opposes the view according to which the vowels and accents were invented by the rabbis of Tiberias. In the preface to the "Tiberias," Buxtorf expresses his surprise how even prominent theologians could have adopted Levita's view as to the late origin of the vowels. If they were really a human invention and had only human authority, so that each could read as he pleased, where would be the certainty and authority of the text? History rather teaches that the Masorites commenced their work from the time of Ezra. If the post-talmudic rabbis at Tiberias had produced the Masora, they would have made themselves guilty of a crime and wickedness. And if it be asked: whence did

<sup>1</sup> *Exercitationes* iv. cap. II, sect. 8, p. 198 etc.

<sup>2</sup> *l. c.*, p. 468; Rosenmüller, *l. c.*, p. 458.

Buxtorf take his reputed historical evidence, it can only be answered: from Jewish tradition. But herein he shows his inconsistency. For the same tradition which appeared to him so absurd in points of post-biblical dogmas and institutions and which he himself so often ridiculed, the same he regards almost as holy when it concerns the conservation of the letter of the Old Testament, and this, for the sole reason, because on that point it was of the greatest necessity to him.

As to the famous controversy with Louis Cappell, Buxtorf the father had personally very little to do with it. For as we have seen from the preface to the *Tiberias*, Cappell was not the first who sided with Levita. After all it is very characteristic for the high reputation which Buxtorf enjoyed among his contemporaries, that even after the publication of his *Tiberias* none dared publicly to oppose him. Buxtorf became now the leader of the vowellists, and even the Lutherans for once forgot their *rabies theologica*, since Buxtorf's well-supplied "armory" had provided for them the weapons which they could use for their own purposes.

At the time when Buxtorf's *Tiberias* was published, Louis Cappell or Capellus, then professor at Saumur was writing his famous work the *Arcanum punctationis*, which made him the leader of the anti-vowellists. Cappellus seems to have been on very friendly terms with Buxtorf. In a letter, dated January 18, 1616, Cappellus thanks Buxtorf for the very great honor of receiving a letter from him. When the MS. of the *Arcanum* had come into Buxtorf's hands without the knowledge of its author, Capellus sent him the continuation of the Manuscript (July 10, 1622) with many excuses and with the request for his opinion. As Buxtorf kept quiet, Cappellus asked for the return of his manuscript, December 9, 1622. At last Buxtorf returned the same with a complimentary letter, requesting at the same time not to publish, as he was about to examine the matter himself. Evidently the whole business was very disgusting to him and he might have had strong reasons to believe that the position of the opponent could not so easily be shaken.

Cappellus sent his manuscript to Erpenius of Leyden, who in 1608 had publicly expressed the same opinion, as that espoused by Cappellus, and was about to treat it scientifically. When Erpenius received the manuscript, he was so convinced by its learning and arguments, that, without the sanction of the author, he published it under the title of *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum* (i. e. "The Mystery of the Points Unveiled"), Leyden, 1624, accompanying it with a preface. The effect of the work was great.<sup>1</sup> The edition was soon exhausted and for 25 years none undertook to refute the anonymous work.

During this time of anxious suspense the Oratorian John Morinus, of whom we have already spoken above, had published his *Exercitationes*. Morinus as well

<sup>1</sup> For the contents, cf. Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 569 sq.; Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, p. 337.

as Cappellus denied the antiquity of the vowel-points, but each had a different aim in view; for while Cappellus, the Protestant professor, contended against the authority of Rabbinical tradition, Morinus, the apostate Protestant, contended in behalf of Romish tradition, placing the same above the Scriptures, which he compared "to a mere nose of wax, to be turned any way," to prove thereby the necessity of one infallible interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

To be associated with Morinus, made Cappellus feel rather uncomfortable; and, having already been made known to the public as the author of the *Arcanum* by Coccejus, Cappellus now openly declared himself as the author in the preface to the *Animadversio ad Novam Davidis Lyram* (of Gomarus, 1641). The cause of his preserving his anonymity was partly because he wished to hear impartial opinions, partly because he was afraid of his opponents. After, however, his work had such a success, and after having been encouraged by a man like Rivetus († 1651), he openly came forward with his name but in such a manner as to incite the younger Buxtorf. The latter was not surprised at this revelation, since from his father he had learned the name of the author. Yet he was not inclined to oppose Cappellus. His father, said the younger Buxtorf, always regarded the question as an open one, and conceded to the opposition party the right to be heard. What he was always inclined to accept, he propounded in his "Tiberias." After the publication of the *Arcanum* many of his adherents were wavering, and entreated him—among others bishop Usher<sup>2</sup>—most earnestly to examine the matter anew and to defend it. But more important work was to be done, and he declined for the present. In 1629 Buxtorf died. His adherents, surprised at his delay and inaction, now addressed Buxtorf's son and successor with regard to the father's position in the matter and he apologized for his father in the best possible manner. But when asked to come forward and to take his father's place in the matter, he delayed for a very long time. At last he promised to defend the antiquity of the vowels not against Cappellus, but against Levita and his adherents. This he did on account of the friendly relation existing between his family and Cappellus. In this sense, avoiding to mention his opponent's name, Buxtorf, the son, prepared his "Tractatus de punctorum." When, however, Cappellus severely criticised two writings of Buxtorf *De literis Hebraeorum* and *De primæ coenæ dominicæ ritibus et forma*, and handled the author's name without gloves, Buxtorf changed the form and mode of expression in his polemical work, and in this altered form, he published it, twenty-four years after the appearance of the "Arcanum" under the title *Tractatus de punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris*

<sup>1</sup> Albert Pighius, a mathematician and controversialist (born 1490 and died 1542), in his *Hierarch. Eccles. Aspertio*, 1538, III, 3, 80, makes a similar statement: "Sunt enim illae (Scripturae), ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus, qui seorsum, illorum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rosenmüller, *l. c.*, p. 573.



*Veteris Testamenti hebraicis origine, antiquitate et auctoritate, oppositus Arcano revelato Ludovici Cappelli*, Basle, 1648. Cappellus answered in a rejoinder entitled *Vindiciae Arcani punctuationis*, which, however, was not published during the lifetime of the two opponents.<sup>1</sup> The latter work is found in *Commentarii et notae criticae* published in 1689.

As Buxtorf's *Tractatus* and Cappellus' *Arcanum* and *Vindiciae* are the main works in the controversy, it will be worth the while to look at them a little more closely. In favor of the late antiquity of the vowel-points, Cappellus adduces the fact of the absence of the vowel-points from the synagogue scrolls.<sup>2</sup> The ancient various readings of the sacred text called K'rî and K\*thîbh, have nothing to do with the vowel-points but with the letters.<sup>3</sup> The ancient Cabbalists drew none of their mysteries from the vowel-points, but all from the letters; for had they already existed in their time, these triflers would certainly have made the most extended use of them and discovered new mysteries.<sup>4</sup> Had the vowel-points really existed from the beginning, why is it that the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, or even Jerome read in so many places differently than according to the present punctuation.<sup>5</sup> Neither Mishna nor Gemara,<sup>6</sup> nor even Philo or Josephus<sup>7</sup> make the least mention of the vowel-points. And surely, Jerome and Origen who had Jewish teachers would have heard something of them if they had existed.

These are some of the salient points in favor against the antiquity of the vowel-points.<sup>8</sup> As to Buxtorf's arguments, Cappellus divides them into *argumenta artificialia* and *inartificialia*, which he endeavors to refute in the second book of his "Arcanum." To the *argumenta inartificialia*, Cappellus reckons the testimony from Jewish writings, which Buxtorf the father derives from the Talmud, Buxtorf, the son, from the *Zohar* and *Bahir*.<sup>9</sup> But to this Cappellus attaches little or no value, since the correctness of an opinion is not to be established by testimonies but by valid reasons. As to the *argumenta artificialia* of Buxtorf, the same may be divided into grammatical, historical and theological. As to the *grammatical* arguments, Buxtorf lays great stress upon the fact that it would be very difficult to read Hebrew without vowels. But to this it can be replied that these difficulties did not exist before the exile, and even to this day it is not impossible to read and to understand unvowelled Hebrew writing. If, however, Buxtorf can prove that before the completion of the Babylonian Talmud vowelled copies already existed, he (Cappellus) will be satisfied; but the proof will never be given.<sup>10</sup> The *historical* arguments which Buxtorf derived from Jew-

<sup>1</sup> Buxtorf the son died Aug. 16, 1664, and Cappellus, June 15, 1658.

<sup>2</sup> *Arcanum* I, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schnedermann, *Die Controverse des L. Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 53 sq.; Diestel, *l. c.* p. 337; Prideaux, *Historical Connection* (Wheeler's edition, 1865), vol., I. p. 303 sq.

<sup>9</sup> *Tiberias*, cap. 9; *Tractatus de punctorum* I. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Vindiciae* II. 5; *Arcanum* II.

ish history, which knows nothing of the work of the Masorites, are as an *argumentum e silentio* of no consideration whatever. And as to the *theological* arguments, they are very poor and superficial and without any value whatever. Equally worthless he regards the assertion of Buxtorf, as if no one before Levita had asserted the novelty of the vowel-points; since long before him Jewish and Christian writers have often expressed the same opinion. And it is rash and inconsiderate, when Buxtorf exclaims: *Eliaum esse sententiae istius de novitate punctorum parentem*. Equally as foolish, Cappellus thinks it to be, when Buxtorf calls him a *revelator* or *novus propheta*, as if he were the first to make the discovery concerning the novelty of the vowel-points.

The result at which Cappellus had arrived may be summed up thus: 1) The Hebrew vowels and accents were invented by learned Jews in order that even unlearned Jews might be enabled to read and understand the sacred writings, in case good and intelligible translations should have perished. 2) Although the historical notices regarding the time in which the work of punctuation originated are scanty, it cannot be doubtful that the Masorites were the originators of the same, and this work came about *not at once*, but before and after (*per gradus ac momenta et plura saecula*) the 5th or 6th down to the 11th and 12th centuries with the help of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, who probably were the last redactors. 3) With such a view the authority of sacred Writ is not in the least affected; on the contrary its sense remains firm and intact and sacred Writ itself preserved from corruption.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schnedermann *l. c.*, p. 60 sq.—It is very interesting to learn the view of Richard Simon concerning the Buxtorf-Cappellus controversial writing. In his *Histoire Critique* (p. 477) he remarks as follows: "Cappellus has also published an excellent writing, entitled *Arcanum Punctuationis*, in which he tries to prove the novelty of the Hebrew vowel-points. This first work of Cappellus, which was published in Holland, made a great sensation among the Protestants. They looked at the appearance of the same with great sorrow, because it is entirely contrary to the principles of their faith. *Alexander Morus*, who saw it before its publication, speaks in his *De Causa Dei seu exercit. de Script. Sacra* of Cappellus as of 'limatissimo vir judicio et undicumque doctissimus,' and of his work as 'opus quantivis pretii, sed a multis zelo Dei flagrantibus etiam hic Genevae reformidatam.' But he shows at the same time that this zeal of the Geneva Protestants had no just cause, since he admits that Cappellus agrees with Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Fagius, Mercier, Drusius, Casaubon, Scaliger, Erpenius, Saumaise, Grotius and Heinsius; hence Cappellus cannot be accused of introducing a new opinion, since he only proves with stronger arguments what has been already accepted by the most learned and intelligent Protestants. 'Nec dubitem,' says Morus, 'quin ejus causa vicerit, si res Doctorum suffragiis et auctoritate transigatur.' But most of the Geneva theologians were too narrow-minded and too ignorant. Had they read the preface to the first French translation of the Old Testament made from the Hebrew, they would have found that its author, *Robert Olivetan*, had fully treated this matter, and that Cappellus had only more fully established his opinion.

The cause of this prejudice which is at present found so much among the German and Geneva Protestants is to be sought in the fact that they blindly follow the opinion of the two Buxtorfs concerning the correctness of the Hebrew text. Buxtorf the father, who had entirely devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew language and the rabbis, endeavored by all means to preserve the authority of the Hebrew text. Since Buxtorf was regarded as the oracle of the modern Hebrew philologists, most of them followed his opinion; since, however, they were not able to investigate themselves such a complicated matter, they abided more by his authority than by his arguments. What also helped his opinion to find favor among the Protestants

The consequence of this controversy was that Protestant Christendom everywhere was divided into two hostile camps. On the Continent as well as in England both parties had their adherents. In England Cappellus was represented by Brian Walton, while the Buxtorfs were especially represented by Lightfoot († 1675), not to speak of Fulke and Broughton whom we have already mentioned above. Lightfoot, the learned Hebraist, gives the following as his opinion: "There are some who believe that the Holy Bible was printed by wise men of Tiberias. I do not wonder at the impudence of the Jews who invented the story, but I wonder at the credulity of Christians who applaud it.... And if you can believe the Bible was printed in such a school, believe also all that the Talmud says. The pointing of the Bible savors the work of the Holy Spirit, not the work of lost, blinded, besotted men."<sup>1</sup> "These rabbinical scholars" (i. e. Fulke, Broughton and Lightfoot), as a modern scholar says, "exerted a disastrous influence upon the study of the Old Testament."<sup>2</sup>

As has been already stated, Cappellus was represented by Brian Walton, the editor of the London Polyglot. In his *Prolegomena* he speaks at great length of the vowel-points and concludes by saying: *vix quisquam sit solidae in Hebraico doctrinae, qui a Cappello differt*<sup>3</sup> and *Cappello consentiunt Theologi plerique, alique doctrina et eruditione Hebraica clari*.<sup>4</sup> For this and other assertions he was attacked by John Owen († 1683), who in his *Of the Integrity and Purity of the Hebrew and Greek Text of the Scriptures with Considerations of the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late "Biblia Polyglotta,"* (Oxford, 1659) declared that he "had rather that this work of the Biblia Polyglotta, and all works of the kind were out of the world, than that this one opinion should be received with the consequences that unavoidably attend it." To this Walton replied in *The Considerator Considered* (London, 1659), p. 220 sq., as follows:<sup>5</sup> "For when at the beginning of the Reformation, divers questions arose about the Scriptures and the Church; the Romanists observing that the punctuation of the Hebrew text was an invention

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was the fact that it flattered the principles of the new reformation. Divine providence was admired, which, according to their opinion preserved the holy writings even from the smallest mistakes. But it was not understood that this so much admired providence had only its foundation in the superstition and in the chimeras of the rabbis, with which the two Buxtorfs filled their books. Cappellus, combining with the study of the rabbins also that of the ancient translators, went in an entirely opposite direction and proved clearly that the opinion of the elder Buxtorf, which was also defended by his son, was only based upon the void imaginations of the rabbis. In fact, Buxtorf's refutation of Cappellus' work contains nothing but a vain Jewish erudition, from which no inferences can be drawn."

<sup>1</sup> These are his words: "Sunt qui punctata Biblia Sacra credunt a Sapientibus Tiberiensibus. Ego impudentiam Judaeorum qui fabulam invenerunt, non miror; Christianorum credulitatem miror qui applaudunt.... et si punctata fuisse Biblia in istius modi schola potes credere, crede et omnia Talmudica. Opus Spiritus sancti sapit punctatio Bibliorum, non opus hominum perditorum, excoecatorum, amentium." *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in quatuor Evangelistas cum tractatibus chorographicis singulis evangelistae suo praemissis*, ed. Carpzov, Lipsiae, 1743, p. 142 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs, *Biblical Study*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolegomena* edidit Dathe, Lipsiae, 1777, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> l. c., p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Briggs, l. c., p. 145 sq.



of the Massorites, they thereupon inferred that the text without the points might be taken in divers senses, and that none were tyed to the reading of the Rabbins, and therefore concluded that the Scripture is ambiguous and doubtful without the interpretation and testimony of the Church, so that all must flee to the authority of the Church and depend upon her for the true sense and meaning of the Scriptures. On the other side, some Protestants, fearing that some advantage might be given to the *Romanists* by this *concession* and not considering how the *certainly* of the *Scriptures* might well be maintained though the Text were *unpointed*, instead of denying the *consequence*, which they might well have done, thought fit rather to deny the *assumption* and to maintain that the *points* were of *divine original*, whereby they involved themselves in extreme labyrinths, engaging themselves in defence of that which might be easily proved to be false, and thereby wronged the cause which they seemed to defend. Others, therefore, of more *learning* and *judgment*, knowing that this *position of the divine original* of the *points* could not be made good; and that the truth needed not the patronage for an *untruth*, would not engage themselves therein, but granted it to be true, that the *points* were invented by the *Rabbins*, yet denied the *consequence*, maintaining, notwithstanding, that the reading and sense of the text might be *certain* without *punctuation*, and that therefore the *Scriptures* did not at all depend upon the authority of the *Church*; and of this judgment were the chief *Protestant Divines*, and greatest *linguists* that then were, or have been since in the *Christian world*, such as I named before; Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Brentius, Pellicane, Oecolampadius, Mercer, Piscator, P. Phagius, Drusius, Schindler, Martinus, Scaliger, De Dieu, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Amana, Jac. and Ludov. Cappellus, Grotius, etc.—among ourselves, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Mr. Mead, Mr. Seldon, and innumerable others, whom I forbear to name, who conceived it would nothing disadvantage the cause, to yield that proposition, for that they could still make it good, that the Scripture was in itself a *sufficient* and *certain* rule for faith and life, not depending upon any human authority to support it.”

There were still not wanting some who defended the antiquity of the vowel-points, as *Joseph Cooper*,<sup>1</sup> *Samuel Clarke*,<sup>2</sup> *Whitefeld*,<sup>3</sup> *John Gill*,<sup>4</sup> who wrote in defence of *Owen* and against *Walton*, and *James Robertson*,<sup>5</sup> but it must be

<sup>1</sup> *Domus Mosaicæ clavis, sive legis septimentum in quo punctorum Hebraicorum adstruitur antiquitas* etc. Londinii, 1673. For the full title see Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> *An Exercitation concerning the Original of the Chapters and Verses in the Bible wherein the divine authority of the Points in the Hebrew Text is clearly proved by new and intrinsic arguments*, London, 1698.

<sup>3</sup> *A Dissertation on the Hebrew vowel-points*, etc., Liverpool, 1748.

<sup>4</sup> *A dissertation concerning the antiquity of the Hebrew language*, etc., London, 1767.

<sup>5</sup> *Dissertatio de genuina Punctorum Vocalium Hebraicorum Antiquitate, contra Cappellum, Waltonum*, etc., prefixed to his “*Clavis Pentateuchi*,” Edinburgh, 1770.

admitted that Walton's work decided the battle in England in favor of the anti-vowellists.

On the Continent the Buxtorfs were followed by *Wasmuth*,<sup>1</sup> *Aug. Pfeiffer*,<sup>2</sup> *Loescher*,<sup>3</sup> *J. G. Carpzov*,<sup>4</sup> and others.<sup>5</sup> The latter like Gerhard made it a matter of faith to believe in the inspiration of the vowel-points. All these—with very few exceptions<sup>6</sup>—had entered the lists in support of Buxtorf, whose adherents in Switzerland exalted his views to a confessional article of belief in the *Formula Consensus*,<sup>7</sup> so that a law was enacted in 1678 that no person should be licensed to preach the gospel in their churches unless he publicly declared that he believed in the integrity of the Hebrew text and in the divinity of the vowel-points and accents. This was the first and only time in the symbols of the church that the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, together with the inspiration of accents and points, had been asserted, thus making the Old Testament dependent on the synagogue.<sup>8</sup> The vindication of the antiquity of the vowel-points shows a great dependence on rabbinic traditions which had entered with the seemingly Christian interest into an alliance, which is still existing. In general it may be said that criticism and research had confirmed the arguments of Levita-Cappellus against the antiquity of the present vowel-points. This view was also held during the 18th century by *Cotta*,<sup>9</sup> *Vater*,<sup>10</sup> and others, whereas the efforts of *Spitzner*,<sup>11</sup> *Bucher*,<sup>12</sup> *Clemm*,<sup>13</sup> *Tychsen*,<sup>14</sup> *Ibenthal*,<sup>15</sup> etc.<sup>16</sup> to prove the antiquity of the vowels and accents, appear like anachronisms at the threshold of the 19th century.

An intermediate course, proceeding on the assumption that there had been a simpler system of vowel-marks, either by three original vowels or by diacritic

<sup>1</sup> *Vindiciae Sacrae Scripturae* (being the third part of *Hebraismus facilitati et integritati suae restitutus*), Kiel, 1664, against Walton.

<sup>2</sup> *Critica Sacra*, Lipsiae, 1688, against Helmont, *Delineatio Alphabeti naturalis Ebr.*, Sulzbach, 1667; cf. Pfeiffer, p. 95 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *De causis linguae Ebraeae*, Lipsiae, 1706 against Stephen Morinus (*Exer uationes de lingua primaeva ejusque appendicibus*, Utrecht, 1694), p. 293. Loescher devotes also an entire chapter to the "hostes Ebraismi" (p. 173-185).

<sup>4</sup> He wrote against Wilh. Goerée *Antiquitates Jud.* I c. 3 in his *Critica Sacra* (Lipsiae, 1748), p. 266 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Mich. Walther, Leusden, Leydecker, Vitringa; cf. also Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 584 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Theodor Hackspan († 1659) makes an honorable exception among Lutheran theologians.

<sup>7</sup> Art. iv. can. II: "Hebraicum Vet. Test. codicem tum quod consonas, tum quoad vocalia, sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem θεόπνευστον esse."

<sup>8</sup> Briggs, l. c., p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> *Exercitatio Historico-Critica de Origine Masorae Punctorumque Vet. Test. Hebraicorum*, Tubing. 1726.

<sup>10</sup> *Hebräische Sprachlehre*, Leipzig, 1797.

<sup>11</sup> *Vindiciae originis et auctoritatis divinae punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris Vet. Test.*, Lipsiae, 1791; cf. Rosenmüller, l. c., p. 582.

<sup>12</sup> *Beweis des Glaubensartikel*, Jene, 1769.

<sup>13</sup> *Theologische Untersuchung*, Tübingen, 1753.

<sup>14</sup> *Ueber das hohe Alter des hebräischen Puncte* in Eichhorn's *Repertorium* III, p. 102 sq.

<sup>15</sup> *Beweis dass der Ursprung der Selbstlauter u. Tonzeichen in der hebräischen Sprache göttlich*, Hamburg, 1771.

<sup>16</sup> See Rosenmüller, l. c., 580-587.

points was opened up by *Rivet*<sup>1</sup> and was pursued by *Schultens*,<sup>2</sup> *Joh. Dav. Michaelis*,<sup>3</sup> *Dupuy*,<sup>4</sup> *Matth. Norberg*,<sup>5</sup> *Trendelenburg*,<sup>6</sup> *Eichhorn*,<sup>7</sup> and others. But modern research and criticism have confirmed the arguments of *Levita-Cappellus* against the antiquity of the present vowel-signs, and "so far as the Old Testament is concerned, the theory of *Buxtorf*, *Heidegger*, *Turretine*, *Voetius*, *Owen*, and the *Zurich Consensus*, as to vowel-points and accents, has been so utterly disproved that no biblical scholar of the present day would venture to defend them."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Isagoge seu Introductio Generalis Vet. et Novi Test.*, Leyden, 1627, viii, 15, 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Institut. linguae Hebr.*, Leyden, 1737, praef. p. 48, 62 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Vermischte Schriften*, Frankfort, 1769, pars 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Dissertation philologique et critique sur les voyelles de la langue Hebraïque* in "Histoire de l'academie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres" etc. Tome 36, Paris 1775, p. 239-291 (German translation in *Eichhorn's "Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur,"* vol. II. no. xi, p. 270 sq. under the title *Von den Vocalen in der hebräischen Handschrift des Hieronymus*).

<sup>5</sup> *Dissertatio de Hebraeorum vocalibus*, Lund. 1784.

<sup>6</sup> *Einige aus dem Hebräischen selbst hergenommene Gründe für das ehemalige Daseyn dreier Vocale* in *Eichhorn's Repertorium*, xviii, no. II, p. 78-117,

<sup>7</sup> *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Göttingen, 1823, vol. I, p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> *Briggs*, l. c., p. 156.



## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. IV. EX. 13-DEUT. 34.

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### B. Num. 10-Deut. 34.

#### SECTION XVII. NUMBERS 10:29-17:28.

##### 1. Chapter 10:29-36.

The divisive critics tell us that 10:29-36 cannot be by the same writer as the preceding part of the chapter, which they assign to P; but they are not agreed whether these verses are themselves all from one pen. Schrader and Kayser refer them indistinguishably to J. Knobel separates vs. 29-32 from vs. 33-36, assigning these paragraphs respectively to the two distinct sources, from which he supposes that J drew his materials. Vatke and Kittel give vs. 29-32 to J and vs. 33-36 to E; Kuenen does the same, though with some hesitation as to the latter paragraph which he pronounces of uncertain origin, though more or less probably belonging to E. According to Dillman v. 33a is from E, v. 34 has been worked over by R, the rest is from J. Wellhausen, Kautsch, and Driver give the whole to JE, supposing that J and E are here so blended that it is vain to attempt to separate them.

The complaint is made that the paragraphs above mentioned are disconnected, having no necessary connection with each other or with what precedes and follows. One contains a statement about Hobab, the other about the ark, neither of which is indispensable to the current of the narrative. But the fact that a statement might be omitted without sensibly impairing the continuity of a narrative is no proof that it is a later insertion and not an original constituent of the passage. Nothing is subsequently said of the people being guided by Hobab or the ark in their journey through the wilderness. But that is no reason why they should not be mentioned here. On the contrary, if the writer wished his readers to understand once for all how this march was conducted, this is the appropriate place at which to introduce them, just as the march from Sinai was beginning.

And so far from there being a lack of connection, as is charged, these verses stand in an intimate relation to the preceding and following context, as well as to one another. Verse 28a sums up the antecedent paragraph, vs. 12-27 (see Dill.); what follows is introductory to v. 29 and formally links it to that which goes before. Strictly rendered it reads as in R. V. "And they set forward and Moses said unto Hobab." Kautsch correctly paraphrases it "When they set forward

Moses said etc." The preceding verses are occupied by a statement in detail of the "setting forward"\* of the host, the same word being used throughout of the movement of the entire people and of each separate division. Now it is stated that when they "set forward," Moses requested Hobab to accompany them. It is difficult to see how this incident could be more directly linked to what precedes. Dillman admits that v. 29 is thus attached to v. 12a, but he claims that this connection was formed by R because he was about to introduce another account of the march from Sinai. His view is that all that P says of the journey from Sinai to Paran is contained in vs. 11, 12. J has a fuller and more detailed account 10: 29-12:16, which R inserts in immediate connection with it, 10:13-28 being a later interpolation. But there is not the slightest reason for assuming two separate accounts from distinct sources, or any interpolation. The writer first states at the outset in a summary way, v. 12, as he is in the habit of doing, cf. Gen. 31:18, 23 sqq., Ex. 4:20 sqq., the destination as well as the starting point of the journey, making mention at the same time of the orderly way in which it was conducted, and then proceeds to give in detail the particulars of note, which occurred on the route.

The reason alleged for regarding 10:14-28 as an interpolation is that it is a needless repetition of what has already been said in ch. 2, and that there are remarkable deviations from it in certain particulars. The arrangements for the march are prescribed in detail in ch. 2; it is declared in ch. 10 that these directions were punctually obeyed when the time came for carrying them into effect. Moreover it is to be observed that the tense of the verbs throughout this passage, vs. 17-28, is suggestive of habitual action, showing that the order here described was observed not only when they first broke up from Sinai, but on all subsequent occasions likewise. Like repetitions abound in similar cases cf. Ex. 25 sqq. with 35 sqq. The alleged discrepancy is no discrepancy at all, but only the introduction of a particular not before referred to. In 2:17 the Levites are spoken of in general, and their place assigned them in the line of march. In ch. 4 the special functions of the three several families of Levites in the transportation of the Sanctuary are more minutely described. In precise correspondence with this the two families of Gershon and Merari, charged with the transportation of the various parts of the structure itself, set forward bearing the Tabernacle, 10:17, precisely in that part of the line, which is indicated for it in 2:17. The family of Kohath entrusted with the carriage of the sacred vessels followed in a later portion of the line for the reason given 10:21. This could not have been mentioned in

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\* The English reader will see in the R. V. as close an approximation as our idiom will permit to the unvarying repetition, with which "set forward" is used throughout this entire passage. This is obscured in the A. V. by the substitution of "took their journey" vs. 12, 13, "went" v. 14, "journeying" v. 29, "departed," "went" v. 33, "went" v. 34.

the comprehensive statement 2:17 without anticipating directions, which were first given in ch. 4.\*

It is charged that the request here made of Hobab, that he would accompany Israel because of his superior knowledge of the wilderness is inconsistent with 9:17 sqq., according to which all their movements were directed by the supernatural cloud. Here it is said are two different conceptions; one, that they were immediately guided by the Lord himself; another, that they were dependent upon human knowledge and skill for direction. But the divine help afforded did not supersede the use of such means as were within reach. Though led by the cloud, Hobab's eyes might be of real service in selecting the best path by which to follow it through mountain defiles or over rough and broken ground in the trackless waste which they were to traverse, and in ordering the encampment to the best advantage in respect of wood and water and their various necessities, where the cloud bid them halt. This combination of divine agency with second causes affords a frequent pretext to the critics for a partition of the text, which is as groundless in every other instance of the sort, as it is here. The author of the Pentateuch in its present form plainly saw no contrariety in conceptions, which he so frequently conjoins. It is a wholly unfounded assumption that they must have originated separately in different minds, and have been subsequently brought together as we now find them by a Redactor. Moreover, if 10:29-32 is so at variance with 9:17 sqq., that these cannot be by the same writer, does it accord any better with Ex. 13:21,22, Num. 14:14, to the writer of which it is proposed to assign this paragraph? If the critics see no discordance in the latter case, such as to infer diversity of authorship, they surely need not complain of any in the former.

Neither is any difficulty created by the mention of "Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite Moses' father-in-law," who had been previously spoken of both by his proper name Reuel Ex. 2:18, and by his priestly title Jethro = His Excellency Ex. 3:1, 13:1. The only apparent difficulty arises from the ambiguity of the Hebrew term here used to denote affinity or relationship by marriage, which may be rendered indifferently father-in-law or brother-in-law. In the former sense it is applied to Jethro (or Reuel) Ex. 3:1, and in the latter to his son Hobab Judg. 4:11. It has been alleged that J here gave a different version of Jethro's visit to Moses recorded Ex. 18, making it occur at the time of Israel's departure from Sinai instead of their arrival there, and stating that at its close instead of returning home he was persuaded by Moses to accompany him through the desert; and that this paragraph is an extract from J's account. It seems to be easy enough for the critics to create contradictions, which have no foundation whatever in the

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\* Dillman further urges בְּרֹאשׁוֹנָה vs. 13,14, alleging that P uniformly writes רֹאשׁוֹנָה instead, as Lev. 5:8, Num. 2:9, Josh. 21:10. But if J can write both בְּרֹאשׁוֹנָה Gen. 13:4, Josh. 8:5,6, and רֹאשׁוֹנָה Gen. 33:2, 38:28, why may not a similar liberty be accorded to P?



sacred text, and rest only on their own gratuitous assumptions. Even if Jethro and Hobab were the same person, his return home a year before, as is distinctly stated Ex. 18:27, would be no bar to his being in Israel's vicinity again at this time, being, as he was, the head of a roving tribe. But if, as we have seen reason to believe, (see HEBRAICA; VII. 2, p. 119) Jethro was Hobab's father, the critical assumption becomes not only baseless but absurd. That such an interview as is here recorded actually took place and issued in Hobab and his clan going with Israel to Canaan, is confirmed by Judg. 1:1; 44:11.

The allegation that J's account has been curtailed by R, who omitted Hobab's affirmative answer, as Dillman suggests, because it was incompatible with 9:17 sqq., is another instance of a discrepancy which exists only in the critic's imagination. He conjectures that if we were only in possession of J's document in full, we might have found something there, which did not agree with P. We need be in no haste to offer an explanation, however, until the missing passage is produced. It will be enough to say that if R thought that Hobab's acquiescence in the proposal was sufficiently plain from the fact that he does not repeat his original declinature, why may not J or whoever it was who wrote this passage in the first instance, have thought the same? There is no need, consequently, of supposing that anything has been omitted.\*

With the next paragraph vs. 33-36 the journey from Sinai properly begins, and the first station is reached after a three days' march. This is necessary to explain their arrival at Taberah 11:1-3, of which no other account is given. The name of the station is not mentioned v. 33 as that was given in consequence of what took place after they came there. The intimacy of the connection is confessed by the critics who would sunder v. 33a from its immediate context and attach it directly to 11:1. But vs. 33b-36, though somewhat parenthetical, contain statements which are quite appropriate in this place. The position regularly assigned to the sacred vessels in the line of march is stated 10:21, but here an exception is made in the case of the ark, which as the symbol of the divine presence preceded the host at this time. "The people went forward a three days' journey, and the ark went before them a three days' journey." The absence of the definite article in the concluding phrase has been gravely commented upon, as though it evinced that these clauses did not originally belong together, or that "three days' journey" had been interpolated in the second. It is plain enough that neither inference is warranted. As an illustration of the extraordinary con-

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\* It has been said that הָיָה vs. 29,32, וּמוֹלֶרֶתִי v. 30, כִּי עַל כֵּן v. 31 are characteristic of J; but when it is considered that these expressions have been constituted marks of J, and the critical partition conducted on this basis, and further that the great bulk of the narrative is given to J or E, it is not difficult to account for the absence of these terms from P. It might with as much propriety be argued that, inasmuch as the phrase הָיָה עִינָיִם לְ is only found here and in Job 29:15 in the whole Old Testament, therefore this passage was written by the author of the book of Job.

clusions which critics are capable of drawing from the simplest expressions it may be mentioned that Nöldeke here remarks that the ark to all appearance was not carried but went forward by a miraculous movement of its own, and Wellhausen adds that no Tabernacle is spoken of in these verses, whence he infers that none existed then.

When the ark is spoken of in connection with the Tabernacle or its contents, it is commonly called the ark of the testimony, as the Tabernacle is sometimes called the Tabernacle of the testimony. But here and elsewhere when separate from the other sacred vessels it is called by a title suggestive of its relation to the people at large, the ark of the covenant. That these designations are not indicative of diversity of authorship appears from their occurring together in the same connection Josh. 4:16,18. In v. 34 we find "cloud" instead of "pillar of cloud" which J is supposed to prefer; Dillman explains that R has here tampered with the text and substituted an expression of P for that of J; but why this should be done in this particular instance he does not inform us.

## 2. Chapter 11.

This chapter records the occurrence at Taberah, the sending of the quails and the plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, and the setting apart of the seventy elders. The critics complain of a want of connection in its several parts, but are widely at variance in their attempts to remedy it. Driver gives up the critical partition as hopeless, and says "Chapter 11 appears to show marks of composition, though, as is often the case in JE, the data do not exist for separating the sources employed with confidence." Knobel assigns vs. 1-3 and vs. 4-35 severally to the two primary sources, from which he supposes J to have drawn. The majority of subsequent critics agree with him in sundering vs. 1-3 from its immediate context, but while he concedes the unity of the rest of the chapter, others carve it up each in his own peculiar fashion.

It is objected that 11:1 does not connect directly with 10:36, which is obvious enough, and for the simple reason that 10:33b-36 is not indeed an extract from a different source, but a parenthesis which it is entirely natural and proper for the writer to introduce in this place, while the direct line of the narrative begun in 10:33a is continued in 11:1. This is what took place at the end of the three days' journey there spoken of. It is not stated why the people complained, but this is no proof that the passage has been mutilated. It may have been purposely left indefinite, or it may have been the writer's design to intimate that the ground of complaint was the same that is dwelt upon in the next paragraph. That these verses cannot be sundered from those that follow is plain, because "among them" v. 4 finds its only antecedent in "the people" vs. 1,2, and "wept again" is only explicable as an allusion to the preceding complaint. The fact that vs. 1-3 occurred at Taberah and vs. 4-34 at Kibroth-hattaavah, whereas there is no mention

of the people journeying from one to the other, and that in 33:16 Kibroth-hattaavah is the first station after Sinai, does not require the assumption that two different narratives are here pieced together, in one of which Taberah was the first station reached, and in the other Kibroth-hattaavah. The explanation is simple. These are not two different stations, but the very same. One extremity of the encampment where the fire broke out v. 1 bore the one name v. 3; the plague which raged throughout the camp, was commemorated in the other name given to the entire station. It is confessed that it was so understood by the author of the narrative in its present form, and there is no reason to depart from his view of the case.

The complaint that there was nothing to eat but "this manna" v. 6 implies that it had been before spoken of, as it is in Ex. 16. But as it had been described on its first appearance Ex. 16:14,31 Dillmann maintains that another description here is quite unnecessary, so that vs. 7-9 cannot be by J the author of v. 6, but must have been taken from E's narrative\* of the original gift of manna, which R inserted here because he could find no other suitable place for it. But if R thought fit to introduce this passage in this place, it is difficult to see why it may not have been originally written for this connection. Kuenen has no difficulty in ascribing vs. 7-9 to the writer of the preceding verses. And indeed the ingratitude of the people for this divine gift furnished a fit occasion for bringing freshly and more fully before his readers the character and excellency of that which was so shamefully despised.

A more serious critical contention, however, is that the narrative of the quails and that of the appointment of the seventy elders were originally quite independent of each other. Wellhausen plumply says that famine among the people could not awaken in Moses the wish for assistants in his public duties. And to rid himself of the explicit statement in the text that it was this emergency which gave occasion to the selection of these coadjutors he tears asunder Moses' earnest petition forced from him by his crushing burden, as though vs. 11-13 stood in no relation to vs. 14,15. Kuenen more shrewdly still sunders out v. 14 from the rest of the petition and makes it the sole preliminary to the choice of the seventy elders which follows. But the cry for relief runs through the entire prayer and is as obvious in vs. 11,12 as in v. 14 itself. The "narrow interpretation" of vs. 11,12, to which Wellhausen attributes the blending of incongruous narratives is the only interpretation which the words will admit, or the logic of the situation allow. Accordingly Dillmann concedes that the appointment of the seventy elders is called for by vs. 11-15 and is an appropriate answer to Moses' prayer, but he insists that this is loosely connected with the subsequent narrative of the actual gift of the quails and the resulting plague vs. 31-34, because in it the elders are not mentioned. And he might have added, neither is Moses mentioned

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\* The account of the manna in Ex. 16 is divided between P and J; vs. 7-9 is assumed to be a fragment from another hypothetical account by E.



in those verses. They were to assist Moses; and that they rendered him efficient aid in upholding his hands and easing his burdens then and afterwards cannot be doubted; though the historian has not thought it necessary to record the particulars.

In the beginning of this century DeWette ventured the supposition (*Beiträge*, II., p. 345) that the setting apart of the seventy elders and the appointment of judges to relieve Moses in Ex. 18 might perhaps be only variant traditions of the same thing. More recent critics treat this identification as if it were an established fact. And this notwithstanding the total disparity of the two cases. The only point that they have in common is that both were designed to assist Moses, but in entirely distinct matters. One was for the settlement of judicial strifes between individuals; the other to support Moses in his influence over the people at large and his endeavors to uphold the divine authority among them. In the one case heads were appointed over each subdivision of the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens, making in the aggregate a vast number of subordinate officials; in the other there was only a delegation of 70 men. The positions taken by the critics make it difficult for them to decide to whom to assign this narrative. The reference to the elders is held to be sufficient of itself to exclude P. E is the reputed author of its variant in Ex. 18. Though blended with the account of the quails, which is referred to J, it stands in no relation to it. Wellhausen alleges that vs. 14-17, 24b-29, which record the institution of the seventy elders, are not by P, J, or E, but are an interpolation subsequent to the time of Isaiah, since in the development of religious thought the notion that civil rulers must have the spirit of prophecy could only have arisen at a very late period. But this hypothesis of interpolations, to which Wellhausen is prone to resort, is regarded by other critics as purely evasive and tending too strongly toward the antiquated fragmentary hypothesis to be admissible. Kuenen assigns these verses with a slight modification of their limits not to E in its original form, but to a Judæan edition of E, the Judæan editor being so intent on exalting the spirit of prophecy as to be regardless of the consistency of the document, and to introduce a variant story of what had already been related in another place. Dillmann scouts the idea of successive editions of the documents as merely the product of embarrassment, and holds that the entire paragraph vs. 11-29, embracing both the quails and the elders, is from J; only these were quite separate when originally written and belonged to different portions of the history and they have been improperly combined by R. But as there is not the slightest proof that the seventy elders were appointed on any other occasion than that to which they are here referred, he suggests as an alternative that perhaps the stories of the quails and the elders belonged together after all, only R has omitted the statement of what was done by the elders at and after the quails were sent. But if R thought the narrative complete without the statement

that Dillmann misses, why may not the original writer have been of the same opinion? So that after all this critical pother, the reasons given for sundering this closely connected narrative prove to be of no account.

The critics still further urge that the narrative of the quails, even after the separation of the elders from it, is still composite and incoherent. It is said that vs. 18-20 do not agree with vs. 31-33. Direction is given to the people to sanctify themselves, but it is not stated that this was done. They are told that they shall have flesh for a whole month, until they loathe it, but it might seem as though the plague overtook them before such a period had passed, or they had time to weary of this food. But the author of the Pentateuch like every other writer is entitled to presume upon the intelligence of his readers, and to leave some things unsaid which are sufficiently obvious without remark. Thus 10:29 he introduces Moses speaking to Hobab without any previous statement that the latter had come to the camp; so too Hobab's assent to Moses' proposal is left to be inferred. In 11:24 Moses is said to have gathered the seventy elders with no suggestion that two were missing, which, however, was the case as we learn from a subsequent verse. Gen. 35:2 Jacob bids his family to purify themselves and change their garments; it is to be presumed that they did so, though it is not so stated. There is the same presumption in the present instance. The immense number of the quails is remarked upon vs. 31,32, which was sufficient to satisfy the conditions of vs. 19,20. And v. 33 does not mean that the plague came upon them when they first began to partake of the quails, as the English Version might be understood to imply "while the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed;" the proper rendering is "ere it was finished," see Dillmann *in loc.* The supply was not exhausted, when the penalty came. There is nothing to hinder us from believing that all was accomplished which had been foretold; that they had fed on this provision for a month to repletion and disgust.

Kuenen is so far from seeing any discrepancy between vs. 18-24a and vs. 31, 32, that he ascribes all these verses alike to Rj who enlarged and embellished the primitive narrative by this addition. This is falling back upon DeWette's early notion that the miracles in Numbers are simply exaggerations of those recorded in Exodus. P's account of the quails Ex. 16:13 is very simple, whereas here it is enormously enlarged. But the whole situation is different. All the transactions at Sinai had taken place in the interval. God had given Israel his law amid the grandest manifestations of his majesty and greatness, had ratified his covenant with them, established his dwelling in the midst of them, and instituted the ordinances of worship. Prior to the arrival at Sinai the Lord manifested the utmost forbearance in the murmurings of the people, and granted a gracious supply to all their wants. But now after a year's pupilage their murmurings assumed a very different aspect and were dealt with in a summary manner. When they complained of the lack of food on first leaving Egypt, manna and

quails were mercifully sent; but now quails are sent in anger to an ungrateful and rebellious people, until they are gorged to repletion and the plague ensues. The total change of conditions shows that these cannot possibly be variant accounts of the same event, the one merely an exaggeration of the other. Moreover, as Ranke pertinently asks, in what respect does this oversupply of quails on a single occasion exceed in marvellousness a daily supply of manna for forty years? Ex. 16:35.

The close correspondence between the middle clause of v. 32 and Ex. 16:18 leads Dillmann to suspect that it has been incorporated here from P. "The cloud" 11:25 instead of "pillar of cloud" is explained by the supposition that R has here again inserted a phrase of P, see also 12:5,10, where these phrases are interchanged. "According to their families" is elsewhere claimed as a P phrase, but is evidently here in place; *לָקַט* *gather*, v. 8, *מִשָּׂא* *burden*, vs. 11,17, *בָּלָא* *forbid*, v. 28, *מַעַט* *be little* are regarded as P words; and the number 600,000 v. 21 is drawn from P, see Ex. 12:37, Num. 2:32. Such interminglings of expressions which the critics are in the habit of ascribing to distinct writers are no proof that R has been tampering with the text, nor that something has been inserted from other parallel accounts. They simply show that these critical criteria of different writers are not really such.

### 3. Chapter 12.

The critics affect to doubt where the events of this chapter took place. The locality is clearly fixed by the immediately preceding and following statements, 11:35, 12:16. If the narrative is sundered from these, of course it hangs in mid-air; but this fact of itself shows that the critical severance is unjustifiable. For as a rule those places only are mentioned in the narrative where some noticeable event occurred; so that the arrival at a station is introductory to the recital of what took place there. And in this case the peculiarity in the form of expression—"they were in Hazeroth" instead of the current phrase "they pitched there"—is induced by an allusion to the delay to which they were subjected 12:15. Wellhausen objects that this event stood in no special relation to Hazeroth, and might as well have occurred anywhere else. This station did not indeed like the preceding derive its name from what was transacted there; but there is not the slightest ground for separating what the historian has joined together.

Dillmann, who undertakes to discriminate between the diction of J and E with a sharpness, that other critics admit to be impracticable, finds the peculiar terms of both in this chapter, and hence infers as usual that two accounts have been blended together; which he further seeks to fortify by alleging a doublet in vs. 4,5, which however are not parallel but successive; and that v. 9a is inappropriately placed and should immediately follow v. 9, whereas it is exactly in



place as the antecedent of v. 9; and the unusual combination rendered "only" v. 2, which nevertheless is justified by the special stress thrown upon that particle. He further imagines that, while in J's account Aaron and Miriam were associated in opposition to Moses, E represented Miriam alone as guilty, and that hence the penalty fell exclusively upon her. This shows how easy it is for a critic to invent his facts. That Miriam was the chief aggressor is intimated by the precedence given to her v. 1, instead of the natural and customary order vs. 4,5. Aaron's guilt is betrayed both by his confession and the apprehension awakened by the fate of his sister vs. 10,11.

Wellhausen charges that the reference to Zipporah v. 1 is apocryphal; that in the first place it is inconsistent with the more natural reason assigned for their conduct v. 2; but why may not a pretext have been added to another and more serious ground? And secondly that only a very late age could have taken offence at Moses' having a foreign wife; the older sources never spoke of Zipporah as a Cushite and they regarded Moses' alliance with the priest of Sinai as a high honor. But, apart from the question which might be raised whether Zipporah is the wife here intended, Dillman aptly shows the futility of the objection to what can be no other than genuinely ancient. For how could a later writer, who knew Zipporah only from statements in other passages, have converted her into a Cushite or have introduced this censure upon intermarriage with a foreigner only to be repelled as foolish by the Lord?

In v. 4 Moses, Aaron and Miriam are bidden to come out unto the Tabernacle; in 11:26 those who remained in the camp are contrasted with those who went out to the Tabernacle, and in v. 30 Moses returning from the Tabernacle is said to have re-entered the camp, cf. 12:14,15. It is claimed that in the conception of these passages the Tabernacle was located altogether outside of the camp, contrary to ch. 2 which places it in the center of the host. But this is an unwarranted inference from expressions which readily admit a different interpretation, and one in harmony with the uniform representation of all other passages relating to the subject. The camp was a vast hollow square with the Tabernacle in the centre and the tribes arranged about it, leaving of course a respectful distance between the house of God and the tents of men. In approaching the Sanctuary it was necessary to go out from the place occupied by the tents and traverse the open space which intervened between them and the Tabernacle. Only once, when God was alienated from Israel by the sin of the golden calf, was this estrangement indicated by putting the (provisional) Tabernacle on the outside of the camp and at a great distance from it Ex. 33:7. But the narrative of this transaction clearly shows its exceptional character. And the attempt to make it appear that this is a variant representation of the customary location of the Tabernacle throughout the journeyings in the wilderness is in acknowledged contradiction to the explicit statements of the passage in which it is found.

Knobel fancies that he discovers an additional departure from Levitical requirements in 12:5, which he interprets to mean that Miriam had been in the Tabernacle, which only priests were permitted to enter, and that she now came out. But as Dillmann correctly explains, she and Aaron came from the camp to the Tabernacle in obedience to the Lord's repeated summons.

The question that is raised by v. 3 is not one of critical partition but of Mosaic authorship. Can such self-laudation be attributed to Moses? In the first place it is very remarkable that this is the only passage in the Pentateuch, that is open to such an objection. Ex. 11:3 simply records a notorious fact. Deut. 34:10 written after Moses' death suggests how admirably he would have been spoken of on various occasions by another than himself. It is also pertinent to observe that the sacred writers were so profoundly impressed with the thought that all that was good in them was due to God's almighty grace, that they speak of what God has wrought in them or done by them with no feeling of vain glory or self-exaltation. So that Paul who counted himself the least of the apostles and not meet to be called an apostle, could yet say without the least rising of pride "I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me," 1 Cor. 15:9,10. And when false and disparaging charges were made in order to weaken the apostolic authority, with which the Lord had invested him, he did not hesitate to claim in his own defence that he was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles, 1 Cor. 11:5, and to recite with no intent of self-glorification his labors and sacrifices and the visions and revelations with which he had been favored. The inspired penmen are as far from depreciating themselves with false modesty, as from arrogating to themselves more than their due. They speak of their faults and of their good qualities with equal impartiality and frankness. Why may not Moses in like manner under the extreme provocations to which he was subjected again and again not by the refractory people merely, but by those from whom such conduct was least to be expected, say here once for all in his own defence that such treatment was utterly unprovoked by him, and that it was borne with extraordinary patience; that he was in fact the meekest of living men. But if it seems to anyone that there is in this more self-assertion than can be imputed to such a man even under such circumstances, why may it not have been added at a later time as a just tribute to the unexampled forbearance of Israel's great leader? Those, whose entire critical scheme involves the assumption of an unlimited number of additions, subtractions, inversions, and transpositions, should be the last to object.

Dillmann strangely says of the claim of Miriam and Aaron that God had spoken with them as well as with Moses, that while Miriam is called a prophetess, nothing of the sort is affirmed of Aaron in the present Pentateuch except in P Ex. 28:30, where he is entrusted with the Urim and Thummim. In a multitude of passages the Lord is said to have spoken to Moses and Aaron. Ex. 6:13; 7:8, etc.

## 4. Chapters 13,14.

Vater (1805) began the critical onslaught upon these chapters in the interest of the fragmentary hypothesis, observing that while Joshua and Caleb are both spoken of 14:6,30,38, Caleb alone is mentioned 13:30; 14:24. He accordingly inferred that 14:1-10,26 sqq. was a distinct fragment, containing a separate account of the same occurrence that is recorded in the rest of these chapters. Bleek (1861) follows substantially in the same track, only modified into accordance with the supplementary hypothesis, of which he was a zealous advocate. He regards 14:5-10a, 26-38 as an addition to the original narrative by the Jehovist editor, vs. 26-38 being conceived to be parallel and an enlargement of vs. 11-25.

F. H. Ranke's reply\* to this proposed partition is complete. The Biblical narrative unfolds itself regularly in five successive sections.

1. 13:1-25 The mission of the spies.

2. 13:26-33 Their evil report, which Caleb vainly opposes.

3. 14:1-10 The rebellion of the people; Joshua and Caleb remonstrate and are threatened with stoning, but rescued by a manifestation of the divine glory.

4. 14:11-25 Jehovah speaks to Moses of destroying the entire people; Moses intercedes on their behalf; Jehovah spares them, but declares that the rebellious people shall not enter Canaan, but Caleb shall.

5. 14:26-35 Moses is bidden to announce to the people that all who were twenty years old at the enumeration, except Caleb and Joshua, shall die in 40 years' wandering in the wilderness.

All is closely connected and proceeds naturally from first to last. But the critical proposal to parcel it between distinct writers and annex No. 3 to 5, and No. 4 to 2 introduces confusion and destroys the proper coherence of the parts. No. 2 deals exclusively with the behavior of the spies. It records no uproar of the people. It contains no justification of the threatening in No. 4 to destroy not the spies but the entire people. No. 5 is intimately related to 3, but still more intimately to 4, inasmuch as it specifies more particularly what is there stated in general, and that in three respects. (1) How the exclusion from Canaan should be effected, viz. by dying in the wilderness. (2) To whom this penalty applies, and to whom not. (3) The duration of the abode in the wilderness. No. 4 is general because its purpose is simply to record Moses' mediation and its effect in mitigating the severity of the punishment of the people. No. 5 is specific because it is the sentence formally pronounced upon the people.

It is plain that if a cleavage of these chapters is to be effected, it must be by a keener and more minute analysis. This Knobel undertook to make, and his determination of P has been followed in the main by critics since. It is an ingenious scheme of cross-readings made out by cutting apart closely connected state-

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\* *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, II., pp. 190-208.



ments and splicing them together in new combinations with a view of producing two tolerably continuous but discordant narratives.

The selection of the spies 13:1-16, and the general statement that Moses sent them to search the land of Canaan v. 17a, is assigned to P, but the directions which he gave them in so doing vs. 17b-20 are given to the other account, which we may here call JE. JE's account begins abruptly with these directions but with nothing to indicate to whom or on what occasion they were given. The spies traversed the land to its northern limit, noting particularly the Anakim at Hebron and the grapes of Eschol, vs. 21-24. This is sundered by giving v. 21 to P, and vs. 22-24 to JE, thus producing variant accounts, one that they searched the land throughout its entire extent, the other that they advanced no further than Hebron and Eschol; a variance which is wholly due to the severance of what is quite harmonious taken together. The return of the spies vs. 25,26 is given to P, their report vs. 27-31 to JE, with the result that JE makes no mention of their return, and P has only a partial statement of the report v. 32 instead of the report itself. Later critics have tried with only indifferent success to patch up the former of these difficulties by shreds torn from v. 26. They take out of this verse for JE the words "and they came...to Kadesh" (it should be "came back" to meet the requirements of the case) "and brought back word to them" ("them" has no antecedent except in the former part of the verse from which it is here sundered, and moreover it involves a reference to Aaron, which is alleged to be a characteristic of P) "and unto all the congregation" (this too is a word that is always claimed for P). It is quite as impossible to evade the second of the difficulties above alluded to. The proposed division completely mars the structure of the chapter. The report of the spies as a body, and in which all united is first stated vs. 27-29. Then follow the diverse representations, first the quieting assurances of Caleb v. 30, then the discouraging declarations of the others vs. 31-32. But, if v. 32 is linked directly with v. 26 and the intervening verses omitted, "they" must mean the whole number of the spies, which is palpably false and cannot be the meaning of P on the critics' own showing. So that Knobel is obliged to assume that something has been omitted restricting the subject just as is done in the verses which the critics themselves throw out, see v. 31.

Nöldeke proposes a still sharper division by sundering v. 32 and giving the first part to P and the last clause to the other account; in this he is followed by Wellhausen, Dillmann, and Kittel. The effect of this is to introduce a variance between the statements respecting the evil report of the spies; according to P they said that "the land eateth up the inhabitants thereof," which is interpreted to mean that it is unhealthy and breeds fatal diseases; according to JE that the inhabitants were so strong that Israel could not cope with them. It will be observed how completely the narrator is in the power of the critics. By limiting him to a partial statement and shifting the lines of division the representation

which he makes can be varied at will, and divergences can be created where none whatever exist. Moreover it is very doubtful whether this partition, even were it allowed, would have the effect which the critics claim. The interpretation put upon this figurative expression conflicts with its obvious sense in Lev. 26:38, where "the land of your enemies shall eat you up" plainly means that they shall be destroyed by powerful foes. And the context in which it here stands seems to require the same sense. There is no intimation in what follows that the unhealthiness of the region awakened apprehension; it is the conflict with mighty nations that the people dread.

In 14:1-4 the documents are in the opinion of the critics inextricably mixed. In the judgment of Dillmann vs. 1,2 have been worked over by R, and it cannot be determined to whom vs. 2b-4 belong. The trouble is that these verses are needed in any connected account of the transaction. Several conflicting attempts have been made to partition the clauses but it can only be done in defiance of critical tests. "All the congregation" v. 2 is a characteristic phrase of P, but the predicates of the clause are those of JE; v. 2 has several marks of P, but explicit reference is made to its language in vs. 28,29, in which Jehovah swears by his own life, which is a mark of J; and "all the children of Israel" is a mark of E. In this confusion of criteria, instead of acknowledging that these imaginary criteria of distinct writers are not really such, since they are indiscriminately blended in the same paragraph, the critics take refuge as usual in the assumption that R has here meddled with the text instead of leaving it in its original form.

Vs. 5-7 are assigned to P, and vs. 8,9, which continue the words of Joshua and Caleb are torn from their connection and given to JE. This is done partly on the score of diction; "search" vs. 6,7 is a P word, "flowing with milk and honey" is a phrase of JE. The word "search" חָנַן occurs 12 times in these two chapters, and every time it is found in P; but the reason simply is that this is one of the test words, by which the partition was made. Every verse in which it is found is for that reason assigned to P. And this though there is no other word in the chapters which describes the function of the spies. In 10:33 it suited the critics to decide differently and there this word is given to JE. But v. 7 cannot be separated from what follows. It is not sufficient for Joshua and Caleb in this exigency to say "The land is an exceedingly good land." This is no more than all the spies had said, 13:27. It does not touch the point about which the people were agitated. They were afraid of the Anakim and the other enemies which they would have to meet. Hence Joshua and Caleb point them to Jehovah, who will give them the land and who is with them, so that they need not fear the people of the land, who were but "bread" for them, a precise reversal of the figure in 13:32. This distinct allusion of itself annuls a partition, which would refer that verse to P and the verses before us to JE. If Joshua and Caleb do not say what is contained in vs. 8,9 they say nothing to the purpose.

From v. 10 according to Knobel P springs at once to v. 34, which is not only an abrupt transition, but leaves v. 30 in the domain of JE, thus annulling the distinction previously maintained that in P Joshua was one of the spies, but in JE he was not. Nöldeke sought to correct these infelicities by shortening P's leap and assigning to him vs. 10,26-38, with the single exception of v. 31, whose language decides that it must belong to JE. This partition had a show of plausibility in the apparent parallelism between vs. 11 sqq. and vs. 26 sqq., which subsequent critics likewise insist upon, though it is fallacious; the former passage details a strictly private interview between Jehovah and Moses, while the latter is a communication to be made to the people. Wellhausen, however, corrects in one particular the analysis of Nöldeke, by drawing attention to the fact that v. 31 necessarily carries vs. 30 and 32 with it; the emphatic pronoun "ye" in these verses finds its only explanation in the contrast of the "little ones" v. 31, and v. 33 cannot be separated from the preceding; so that vs. 30-33 must be remanded to JE in spite of the circumstance that both Caleb and Joshua occur in v. 30. A fresh discrepancy, however, is created by the severance of vs. 26-29,34-38 P from the preceding paragraph vs. 11-25 JE, viz. that P assigns the term of forty years for the abode in the wilderness while JE does not. The separation of contiguous paragraphs which were intended by the writer to supplement each other, and treating them as though they were independent productions of different writers and hence wholly unrelated, is constantly used by the critics to convert a continuous and harmonious record into discordant and conflicting statements and so to destroy its trustworthiness and historical truth.

The critical partition of ch. 13,14 is thus encumbered with difficulties throughout. And the discrepancies which are urged are without foundation. These concern

(1) the locality from which the spies were sent; (2) the portion of the land which was traversed by them; (3) the presence of Joshua with the spies; (4) the period of wandering in the desert.

(1) It is said that in P the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran, 13:3; but in JE from Kadesh, 13:26; 32:8, which was in the wilderness of Zin, 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; Deut. 32:51. It is argued, therefore, that according to P the people had not yet reached the wilderness of Zin, but the spies passed through this wilderness, which lay north of Paran and formed the southern boundary of Canaan, on their way to spy out the promised land, v. 21. But Kadesh is explicitly stated to have been that place in the wilderness of Paran, to which the spies returned v. 26; and even if the critics are allowed to sunder this clause as they propose, still we have the authority of R for putting them together, as they here stand. And this there is nothing to contradict. Zin formed the northern border of Paran, so that Kadesh might be indifferently said to be in either.



(2) That the spies did not limit themselves to Hebron and Eschol,\* but went through the entire land, is apparent even from the verses assigned to JE. They are directed to enter by the south and go up into the mountain, which is a designation of the mountain land or hill country extending through Palestine from north to south Josh. 11:3, and ascertain about the land and the cities. Such directions respect the land in general, and not merely the trifling district south of Hebron. And in their report vs. 27-29 they give an account of the land and the people and the cities (not one city but many) and the various populations which occupy different sections of the country. Such a report implies that they had acquainted themselves with the land at large, and that they had done precisely what the verses assigned to P declare that they did.

(3) The alleged discrepancy respecting Joshua is frankly given up by Kayser as untenable, because Caleb and Joshua are introduced together in passages which plainly belong to J 14:8,9,30 and 32:12. The only distinction which he recognizes is that P names Joshua before Caleb and J reverses the order. Other critics struggle to fasten this inconsistency upon the text either by including 14:30 in P, as is done by Nöldeke, Schrader, Kuenen, and Vatke notwithstanding Wellhausen's demonstration that this is impracticable; or the same end is accomplished by assigning 14:30 to JE, but insisting that JE is itself composite, and that one of its constituents includes Joshua among the spies and the other does not. Ranke's question is here pertinent, would the critics have us believe that according to one form of Israelitish tradition Joshua was not permitted to enter Canaan, and that this tradition found a place in the very book which records his appointment to be Moses' successor and to effect the conquest and division of Canaan? The critics try to evade this absurd conclusion by saying that Joshua the minister of Moses was held to be too exalted a personage to have been commissioned as one of the spies, too exalted also to be included in the sweep of the sentence which was passed on the mass of the nation. But a sentence which did not spare even Moses and Aaron, would not have spared Joshua if he had not been explicitly exempted.

There is no discrepancy, however, in relation to Joshua being one of the spies. The old maxim *Distingue tempora et concordabit scriptura* finds its application here. The fallacy lies in the critical assumption that 13:30 is parallel to 14:6,7, and is a variant account of the same thing. But this requires a fresh assumption either that R has omitted an account of the popular outbreak which originally preceded 13:30, or else that this verse has been transposed from its true position after 14:4, no one can tell why. But none of these assumptions is necessary. There has been neither omission nor transposition. In the first rendition of the

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\* Köhler, *Geschichte A. T.*, I., p. 301, needlessly assumes that they only went as far as Hebron and there informed themselves by inquiry respecting the rest of the land as far as Lebanon.

report Caleb alone was the spokesman in opposition to those that discouraged the people, whether from a native boldness and impetuosity like Peter among the apostles, which impelled him to take the lead, or as Matthew Henry suggests, Joshua may have prudently left it to Caleb's management at first, who was of the tribe of Judah, the leading tribe, and therefore fittest to be heard, whereas he would himself have been suspected of partiality to Moses whose minister he was. But whatever was the actuating motive Caleb took the initiative and stood alone against those who brought an evil report. When, however, the people broke out in open rebellion, Joshua and Caleb both did their utmost to quell it. When in answer to Moses' intercession the Lord so far reprieved the people as not to destroy them immediately but to exclude them from Canaan instead, he passed the commendation upon Caleb that he had followed him fully and promised him a possession in the land whither he had gone. And finally when the sentence of wandering in the wilderness till all who were over twenty years of age had perished, the two who had stood bravely for the right were exempted, precedence being accorded to Caleb who had been the first to speak out in opposition to the rest.\*

(4) Knobel finds all the narrators in agreement in respect to the forty years' wandering. Dillmann thinks that they seriously disagree, and consequently R was led to modify them materially in his attempt to combine them. That Israel was forty years in the wilderness is attested, as he admits, by the prophet Amos 2:10; 5:25, and was certainly found in P, Num. 26:64; 33:38, and in various passages in Deuteronomy 1:3; 2:7,14; 8:2,4; 29:4, besides being confirmed by Ex. 16:35, Josh. 5:6, Neh. 9:21, Ps. 95:10. But, he says, we have no testimony from E and J except 14:33; 32:13 J; Josh. 14:7,10 E and it is not certain how far these have been worked over, though there is no reason to attribute to them a different view regarding the forty years, the period of a generation, during which a new race grew up in the desert. Nevertheless connecting these forty years with the sentence of God after the spying out of the land seems to have been first worked into

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\* Dillmann understands the sentence of exclusion from Canaan in a general not in an absolute sense. Knobel says it is altogether improbable that all who came out of Egypt except two perished in the wilderness, and that upon the entry into Canaan no men above sixty years of age were to be found among the Israelites but Joshua and Caleb. And he refers particularly to Eleazar the son of Aaron, who was made a priest in the second year of the exodus Ex. 28:1, Num. 3:3,4 and advanced to a high position Num. 3:32; 4:16. At his consecration he must have been more than twenty years old, for his father was already eighty-four Ex. 7:7, and the Levites did not enter upon their functions till they were thirty Num. 4:3. It is possible that the Levites were not contemplated in the sentence pronounced upon the people at large, which in its terms respected those who were included in the preceding census, 14:29, which the Levites were not, 2:33. Their position was peculiar. Each of the other tribes was represented in the spies, but Levi was not, 13:4 sqq. Nevertheless there is no proof that Eleazar was above the specified age. His older brothers accompanied their father and the elders of Israel upon an occasion in which Eleazar might have been expected also to take part, if he had been of age, Ex. 24:1. The burdens allotted to the Levites made it essential that they should be of full age, but the service of the priests was not onerous. No age is fixed for the priests in the Pentateuch; at a much later time it was twenty.

E and J by R and Rd in imitation of P and D. E. Meyer\* is much more thoroughgoing. He limits J to 13:17b,19,22,28,29. And from this partition he concludes that J knows of no forty years' wandering nor of any pusillanimity on the part of the people or alarm at the giants. Immediately after sending the spies they depart to undertake the conquest. The only object of the story of the spies is to explain why Caleb settled in Hebron; he received Hebron for the service which he rendered as a spy, not because he remained steadfast. E's narrative is dependent on that of J. He retains Caleb, but substitutes the brook Eshcol for Hebron; most of the spies were afraid, Caleb alone remained faithful and was rewarded by outliving his generation, while Moses must die and hand over the government to Joshua. This is what he reads in 13:18,20,23,24,26c,27,30,31,32c,33, which he attributes to E. Furthermore P calculates from Josh. 24:29 that Joshua also must have been born in Egypt, wherefore he adds him to the spies and makes him faithful like Caleb. By picking out what he pleases from a narrative and ignoring the rest a critic can create as many different versions of the story as there are possible combinations of its several parts.

After the portion of P has been separated from ch. 13,14, it is claimed that the remainder is still composite. Dillmann affirms that almost everything is duplicated; the instructions to the spies 13:17b-20; the distance to which they went vs. 22-24; their report vs. 27-29,31,32c,33; the murmuring of the people 14:1 sqq.; the attempts to quiet them 13:30; 14:8,9; the sentence 14:23,24,30-33; and even the unsuccessful attack on Amalek is not a unit.

Knobel, Kayser, Kuenen, Schrader see no cause for dividing the instructions given to the spies. Wellhausen, who has a keen eye for doublets, discovers one in vs. 19,20, in which he is followed by Dillmann. But v. 20a is not a repetition of v. 19. Moses charges them to investigate three things, which are quite distinct; the robustness and numbers of the people v. 18; whether the land was attractive and the population nomadic or dwelling in fortified towns v. 19; and whether the land was fertile and well wooded v. 20. Each verse begins in the same terms, but if this is to be made a ground of division, it is not duplicated but triplicated, which is more than the critics want.

The critics divide as before in respect to the point reached by the spies. Why they could not have gone both to Hebron and to Eshcol and why the same writer could not have recorded their visit to both places, it is difficult to see. There seems to be no reason in the case but a disposition to splinter the text to the utmost limit of divisibility.

And there is no duplication in the report of the spies. The writer first mentions the statements in which they all concurred vs. 27-29, then the diverse representations of Caleb and the others vs. 30-33. The perplexity in which the critics

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\* In Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1881, pp. 139, 140.



find themselves in attempting to partition 14:1-4 have already been referred to. It has also been shown that 13:30 is not the duplicate of 14:8,9. And 14:23,24 is not the duplicate of vs. 30-33; the former is what the Lord says to Moses, the latter is what he directs Moses and Aaron to say to the people. What to do with vs. 11-25 is a puzzle for the critics. It cannot be given to E on account of its striking resemblance to Ex. 32:10-14 and its citation of Ex. 34:6,7 passages of J. Nor can it be given to J, inasmuch as its duplicate vs. 28,30-33 is assigned to it, and moreover v. 14 has ideas from P. There is no resource, consequently, but to assume that R has been meddling here again, and has expanded some simple indeterminate statements of E at his own free will. In vs. 40-45 the criteria of J and E are inextricably blended. Wellhausen shifts the difficulty by referring them to some independent source different from both J and E. Dillmann denies the existence of such a source, but confesses that the passage is a critical tangle.

It may be worth while to observe that the ark is here v. 44 in JE in the midst of the camp, as it elsewhere is in P; the same thing is also implied in 10:36, in spite of the attempt to draw an opposite conclusion from 11:26.

It is said 13:16 that Moses changed the name of Hoshea to Joshua. There is no discrepancy and no intimation of a difference of writers that Joshua is so called previous to this time Ex. 17:9,13; 24:13; 32:17; 33:11; Num. 11:28, and that he is once subsequently called Hoshea Deut. 32:44. Whether the change of name was made at this time, as is most probable, or some time previous, is of small account. As Joshua is the name by which from this time forth at least he was most familiarly known, it was altogether natural to use it afterwards even in relating what had taken place previously. But in such a list of names as that of the spies, in which the parentage of each is regularly given, the original family name seems especially appropriate. And there is nothing strange in the fact that this name was once again revived on a later occasion.

Haevernick's remark on v. 22 may be worth repeating. The founding of Hebron is there defined by a reference to that of Zoan in Egypt, implying that the latter was more familiar and better known; which is an incidental indication of Mosaic authorship.

## 5. Chapters 16,17.

As the present stage of the discussion is only concerned with the historical portion of the Pentateuch, we pass over ch. 15 and such other chapters as are exclusively occupied with legislation.

Ch. 16 contains an account of the insurrection of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The grounds of discontent were various. Korah seems to have been the chief instigator of the rebellion from his discontent at the exclusive priesthood of Aaron, and the subordinate position assigned to ordinary Levites. Dathan and Abiram descended from Reuben the first born of Jacob were indignant that Moses and

Aaron of the tribe of Levi were exalted above them. Some two hundred and fifty of the disaffected of different tribes attached themselves to them contending for the equal rights of all Israelites in opposition at once to the leadership of Moses and the priesthood of Aaron. The rebellion was quelled by immediate divine interference and the awful fate that befell those concerned in it. And the divine right of the Aaronic priesthood was settled for all time by the miraculous budding of Aaron's rod.

The early antagonists of the unity and credibility of the Pentateuch seem not to have suspected that this closely connected and continuous narrative was capable of division. Staehelin\* has the credit of having made the discovery. He undertook to sunder the account of Korah and his two hundred and fifty associates, mostly Levites, as he supposed, who laid claim to the priesthood and perished by fire, from that of the insurrection against the authority of Moses by Dathan and Abiram, who were swallowed up by the earth. The former he regarded as the primitive form of the narrative and attributed it to the author of what he denominates the author of the first legislation, the P of more recent critics; the latter was subsequently interwoven with it by J the author of the second legislation, either because of the similarity of the two incidents or because he knew that they occurred contemporaneously. The confession contained in this second alternative is of itself destructive of the hypothesis. If all took place together, why should it not have been so narrated from the first?

Staehelin had been obliged to alter the text in vs. 1,24,27,32 in order to sunder what each of these verses binds fast together. Knobel† attempted a division, which should require no textual changes. He finds three separate narratives combined in this chapter. That of P speaks of all the conspirators; the two hundred and fifty present themselves with censers before the Lord; the arch-conspirators are swallowed up by the earth, while the two hundred and fifty are consumed by fire. In that of J's first source the only conspirators are Levites and these had not yet been charged with any sacred functions; but they demand elevation to the priesthood, and are punished by the earth opening and swallowing them up. In J's second source Levites who have already been separated to the service of the Sanctuary, aspire to equality with Aaron; and Dathan and Abiram rebel against the leadership of Moses. Their fate is not directly stated, but is implied in the despairing cry of those who witnessed it.

\* *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1843. He divides as follows:

First Legislation 16:1 (in part) 2, 4-11, 16-23, 35.

Second Legislation 16:1 (in part), 12-15, 25-34.

In v. 24 he erases the three names and reads לְמֹשֶׁה for לְמֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן or proposes as an alternative to omit מֹשֶׁה and read לְקָרַח: in v. 27 he erases "Korah," and in v. 32 "all the men that appertained unto Korah."

† His division is

P 16:1,2,4,16-24,27a,32-35; 17:1-26.

J's 1st Source 16:3,5-7,28-31.

J's 2nd Source 16:8-15,25,26,27b; 17:27,28.

The awkwardness and ill success of Knobel's partition seem to have satisfied the critics that nothing can be effected here without doing violence to the text. Accordingly Nöldeke fell back on Staehelin's division with some slight modifications designed to remedy its more glaring infelicities. He frankly confesses that the story of Dathan and Abiram is so closely involved with that of Korah that it can scarcely be separated; that 26:9-11 expressly asserts that Dathan and Abiram were engaged in the same conspiracy with Korah; and that if these stories were originally separate, they are quite distinct in their tendency, one having relation to the superiority of priests over Levites, and the other to that of Moses over the heads of the several tribes. With these concessions the question naturally arises how R ever came to consider two such heterogeneous events as one, and to combine them as he has done. But overleaping all obstacles Nöldeke proceeds with his work of division.

The opening sentence vs. 1,2, in which the combination of the conspirators is expressly affirmed, is torn to pieces in order to separate them. He gives to P "Korah the son etc. took certain of the children of Israel, 250 princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron;" and to J "Dathan and Abiram, the sons etc. were men of renown;" he throws out of the text "and they rose up before Moses" as an unsuitable addition by R, for how could they have risen up before Moses, when he had to send for them v. 12? But on this division of the passage there is nothing to indicate their participation in the insurrection. Hence Schrader, Kayser, Kittel and Driver disregard the imaginary difficulty above alluded to, and connect these words with Dathan and Abiram, in which case "men of renown," though a J phrase, must be surrendered to P.\* Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Dillmann content themselves with saying that the two sources are here inextricably blended, the original text of neither having been completely preserved. The complaint of the critics that the imperfect form of the sentence betrays a corruption of the text, which they attempt to remedy by emendation and which justifies their assumption that incongruous clauses have been put together, is sufficiently answered by Gesenius.† It is simply an anacoluthon; Korah, Dathan and Abiram took and rose up against Moses with 250 men, for "took 250 men and rose up with them against Moses."

On is not mentioned after v. 1 either because of the subordinate part which he took in the conspiracy or because he withdrew from it before the final catastrophe. Peleth is not otherwise known, unless possibly this may be another form for Pallu Gen. 46:9, Num. 26:5, see Josephus *Ant.* 4,2,2. It is not necessary with

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\* Schrader alone seeks to retain it for J, though this is forbidden by the structure of the sentence when so divided; and oddly enough he makes it an appendage to a clause of E.

† *Thesaurus*, p. 760a.



several recent critics to adopt the conjectural reading\* "Eliab the son of Pallu, the son of Reuben."

Then vs. 3-11, 16-24, as relating to Korah and his company, is given to P; and vs. 12-15 concerning Dathan and Abiram to JE. But as Nöldeke perceived v. 13 cannot be separated from v. 9. The correspondence in the opening words cannot be casual. Moses reminding the sons of Levi of the special favors accorded to them says Is it a small thing to you? Dathan and Abiram retort upon Moses his own words, Is it a small thing that thou hast done to us? So that he felt constrained to give vs. 13,14b to R, though in so doing he mutilated their reply and sacrificed a J phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey." As the combination "fields and vineyards" is elsewhere found only in E, Dillmann parcels 14a between J and E, and assumes on this ground and that of some similar criteria that there are traces of a duplicate account of Dathan and Abiram; others confess that they cannot discover them. V. 15a is an additional source of trouble. Vatke, Kuenen† and Kittel tear it out of its connection and give it to P, as though this clause related to Korah. Other critics admit that it must have reference to Dathan and Abiram. Kayser thinks it a prayer that God would not regard with favor offerings that they might at any time present. Dillmann concedes that it implies that Dathan and Abiram were not merely in rebellion against the leadership of Moses, but that they had designs likewise upon the priesthood; this plainly shows that they were making common cause with Korah and that there was no such divergence between their designs as the critics allege. Moses' protestation v. 15b is called out by their assault upon him, as his petition v. 15a by their assault upon Aaron. So that the same twofold aim is attributed to them as v. 3 to the company of Korah. Parcelling these clauses between two writers (Dill., Well.) as though they represented different views of the designs of Dathan and Abiram is altogether arbitrary and without justification. It seems therefore from all these considerations that vs. 12-15 are too closely linked with the rest of the narrative to be separated from it.

But the critics encounter still more formidable obstacles in carrying their partition through vs. 24sq. The three ringleaders are here combined; and every device is used to annul the explicit statement of the passage. Nöldeke says that inasmuch as the people in v. 19 were standing with Korah at the door of the Tabernacle, there is no sense in saying that those who would not perish must get away from the dwelling of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. The command of God, which Moses repeats and the people obey, must be that they must remove from the neighborhood of Korah and his company. V. 24 must originally have read "Separate yourselves from Korah;" in v. 26 "tents" must be expunged; v. 27a can only describe obedience to the injunction of v. 24 in its original form. With

\* First proposed in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, II., p. 251.

† Kuenen *Hex.*, p. 96, gives vs. 13,14 as well as 15a to P, though p. 154 vs. 12-14 are assigned to E; is this an oversight or a misprint?

this connects immediately the catastrophe v. 35. In the other narrative, he tells us, v. 24 probably read "The people stood about the tabernacle of Dathan and Abiram." Then v. 25 follows appropriately. Moses to whom they would not go, goes himself to them accompanied by the elders of Israel. In v. 27a may be fragments of the continuation. And vs. 27b-34 completes the story. This is an enlargement upon the original conclusion, which was simply vs. 28,32 (without the last clause), 34. This is based on the critical assumption, which would make havoc of any composition to which it was applied, that everything which can be removed from a passage without destroying its continuity, is to be reckoned an interpolation.

The critics divide upon the question what they are to do with v. 24 to rid themselves of its testimony. Schrader and Wellhausen simply erase "Dathan and Abiram." Vatke in addition erases "Korah" and reads "the Tabernacle;" Kayser "the Tabernacle of witness;" Dillmann "the Tabernacle of Jehovah." All proceed on the assumption that the only thing to be desired was the safety of those who were gathered at the sacred Tent. This results from the arbitrary partition of the narrative, which the critics have themselves made, and is directly counter to the express statements of the record. The supreme moment had now arrived, when the rebellion was to be quelled by immediate divine interposition, and the awful overthrow of those by whom it had been initiated and fomented. The rebels who were present with their censers at the door of the Tabernacle were but a part of the conspirators; Dathan and Abiram with all that adhered to them, were likewise to be involved in the destruction that was to ensue. The appearance of the divine glory, v. 19, had already spread consternation among the crowd of spectators and malcontents at the sanctuary. It was necessary that ample warning should likewise be given to the rest of the congregation, that they should escape with all haste from the vicinity of the dwelling-place of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. And it is one of the undesigned coincidences, which give incidental confirmation to the truth of this narrative, that the Levitical family of Kohath, to which Korah belonged and the tribe of Reuben to which Dathan and Abiram belonged were encamped alike on the south side of the Tabernacle, Num. 2:10, 3:29, so that their dwellings were contiguous, which both gave them opportunity to concoct their plans, and is the reason why the singular term is used v. 24, since they had one common dwelling place.\*

\* It is objected by Dr. Driver that מִשְׁכָּן is never *in prose* applied to a *human* habitation. But this very passage proves that it may be so applied legitimately, even if it were conceded to be from R. The objection is only advanced in the interest of a precarious critical hypothesis and is disregarded by critics like Knobel, Schrader and Wellhausen, whose hypothesis does not require it. The word is freely used both in a sacred and secular sense in poetry (see in this very book Num. 24:5 where it is parallel to אֹהֶלִים as here v. 26) and even in prophets who approximate ordinary prose as Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A precisely similar instance is afforded by עֶרְוָה which, apart from its application to the company of Korah, is uniformly and exclusively used of the congregation of Israel throughout the Hexateuch and in all the rest of the prose of the Old Testament save Judg. 14:8.

The narrative is strictly consistent. The people are warned to leave and do leave the dwelling place of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. Dathan and Abiram were in their tents, vs. 25,27, but Korah was not, vs. 16-19. He must, however, have left the tabernacle and gone to his tent in bold defiance of the warning given, since he was swallowed up by the earth (with which 17:5 [A.V. 16:40] does not disagree) with all the men that appertained to him i.e. his servants and retainers but not his children 26:9-11, from whom the noted family of psalmists and temple-singers of a later period was descended. Here is again an incidental proof, as Haeavernick justly remarks, of the historical reality of this transaction. No one could have invented such a story about the ancestor of so eminent a family.

Nöldeke is alone in assigning v. 26 to P, and converting it into an exhortation to the crowd at the Tabernacle to separate themselves from those that were offering incense. Others admit that it must mean what both its language and its connection require, separation from Dathan and Abiram; and they accordingly give it to E (or JE), in spite of "congregation" עֵדָה a word that is with the greatest confidence declared to belong to P. This same word occurs again v. 24, which in consequence of its correspondence with v. 27 Wellhausen confesses must belong to JE, and cannot even by "a right bold cut" be saved for P. So also "congregation" קָהָל v. 33, and "create" בָּרָא v. 30.

Dr. Driver argues the composite character of this narrative from

"the inequality of the manner in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram appear in it; whereas in v. 1 sq. they are represented as taking part in a *common* conspiracy, they afterwards continually act separately; Moses speaks to Korah without Dathan and Abiram, and to Dathan and Abiram without Korah (vs. 4-11; 12-14; 16-22; 25sq.); Dathan and Abiram do not act in concert with Korah vs. 16-22, but remain in their tents at a distance vs. 26,27; finally, their fate is different. In other words, Korah is united with Dathan and Abiram, not in reality, but *only in the narrative*; he represents different interests, and acts throughout independently of them."

The fallacy in this reasoning lies in the primal assumption that men with different aspirations and different personal interests and aims cannot be united in the same uprising against the constituted civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and that different parties so combined cannot be dealt with separately. That Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were joint conspirators is expressly affirmed; that to a certain extent at least they had common aims comes out, as we have seen, in the narrative itself. Moses showed his wisdom in dealing with these parties separately; his appeal addressed to the Levites ought to have shamed them into a surrender. That those who would usurp the priesthood were forward to accept the offered test by actually engaging in a priestly function is as natural as that Dathan and Abiram who would not recognize Moses' authority refused to obey his summons. The diversity of fate also grew naturally out of the circumstances. They who presumed to intrude on priestly functions unbidden, perished at the Sanctuary, which they had profaned. They who contumaciously remained aloof, perished by an infliction which rid the camp of Israel of their presence. There is nothing in all this surely to justify any one in setting aside the explicit asser-



tion of the sacred writer, that all were jointly engaged in the same rebellion, and that the different scenes depicted were but distinct parts of the same transaction.

That Korah is not mentioned along with Dathan and Abiram, Deut. 11:6, is no proof that he was not associated with them any more than the omission of his name Ps. 106:17,18; neither is Aaron spoken of in connection with the golden calf v. 19. In singling out this one from all the judgments inflicted in the wilderness because of its peculiarly awful nature, Moses makes no special reference to Korah because in this address to the people there was no need of emphasizing the fate of usurpers of the priestly prerogative, which no one was disposed to contest.

It is claimed, however, that this narrative is capable of yet further dissection. Wellhausen discovered that not only two but three narratives are here combined. These are, he tells us, only preserved fragmentarily, nevertheless their distinctive points can be readily recognized. 1. In J Dathan and Abiram rebel against Moses as ruler v. 13 and judge v. 15b. Cited by Moses they refuse to appear and he goes himself with the elders to their tents. God decides in his favor, the earth opens and they go down alive. 2. According to another source in JE, Korah a secular chief, probably of the tribe of Judah, and others with him contend for the priestly prerogative of all Israelites and against the limitation of it to the sons of Levi i. e. Moses and Aaron. They exercise their supposed right by bringing an offering v. 15a. All Israel at God's command separate themselves from the dwelling of Korah; the earth opens and swallows them up. 3. In P Korah a Levite and 250 of his tribesmen rise up against Aaron, and demand that the inferior clergy should be made equal with the higher. They come before the Tabernacle with their censers and offer incense, but are consumed by the sacred fire.

Wellhausen thinks that this discovery solves the puzzle which previous critics had proposed, but had not attempted to resolve, viz. how R came to combine two stories which had nothing in common. The solution he finds in the intermediate account, which touches J on the one side and P on the other. It agrees with J in being a revolt of the laity, and the offenders with their dwellings are swallowed up in the earth. It differs in that the uprising is not against Moses alone as a political leader, but against Moses and Aaron as invested with the priesthood (with which is connected the fact that they present an offering), and that instead of Reubenites, Korah of Judah is the leader. Now it is just in these points of difference that it approaches P. In P it is opposition against the spiritual prerogative (of Aaron), and it comes from Korah; but the third account diverges yet more widely from the first than the second and in the same direction. In 1 nothing is said of a spiritual order, but only of the prominent influence of a person in the commonwealth, against which opposition is roused. In 2 a hereditary priesthood is growing up, which meets strong resistance from the excluded laity. In 3 the clergy is an uncontested fact, but a separation was forming within it between

priests and ordinary Levites, which is as yet no fait accompli, but calls forth lively protests. In 1 Moses is attacked because of his personal position ; in 2 Moses and Aaron, because of their caste-like elevation above the laity ; in 3 Aaron, because of his elevation above the other Levites. In 1 the bringing of offerings is not the forbidden good for which the rebels strive ; in 2 they bring a *minha* but do not perish precisely on that occasion ; in 3 they are consumed by sacred fire before the Tabernacle in the act of offering incense.

This view of Wellhausen, which has been stated almost in his own words, is based on his peculiar division of the chapter. He sunders vs. 3-5 from all that immediately follows, claiming that in these verses Korah (who is not a Levite) and other laymen affirm the holiness of the entire congregation against the prerogatives of individuals, they are zealous not for the Levites against Aaron, but for a universal priesthood against any clergy. This, he insists is quite distinct from the conception of vs. 8-11, which contemplates Levites not content with their existing privileges and desirous of more ; they are zealous not for the congregation but for their order ; as inferior clergy they claim equality with the superior. And he lays great stress upon the fact that "causing to come near" is the thing for which the rebels contend in v. 5, whereas in vs. 9,10 it is already possessed. But there are different grades of approach ; those who had been brought near as Levites aspired to the greater nearness of priests. That Moses singles out the Levites from the rest of the conspirators vs. 7b-11, in order to remind them of the special favor conferred upon them is no warrant for the severance of these verses from the preceding. Still further he arbitrarily throws vs. 6,7 out of the text as an insertion by R, intended to bridge the chasm ; and he intimates that "ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi" 7b may have been addressed to Moses and Aaron by the rebels, and originally stood in v. 3 ; whereas it is Moses' retort upon them of their own language, thus indissolubly binding v. 7 to v. 3, as we have already seen that v. 13 is tied to v. 9.

The fragmentary character of this imaginary source, which Wellhausen himself confesses, is shown by its springing at once from v. 5 to 15a, and from that to the final catastrophe, which he finds by separating v. 32 from vs. 30,31,33, as though the former speaks only of the earth swallowing up Korah and his company and the latter only of Dathan and Abiram.

Kuenen followed by Dillmann repudiates Wellhausen's assumption of a Judæan Korah, who with his 250 partisans was swallowed up in the earth. He claims (*Hexateuch*, p. 334), as is his frequent habit elsewhere, that the original account of P is to be distinguished from additions subsequently made to it. In P's narrative "Korah and his band were represented not as Levites, but as Israelites sprung from different tribes. A later diaskeuast made Korah and his followers Levites and transformed their contest with Levi for a share in the ritual into a contest with Aaron and his descendants for the priestly dignity. He gave the

narrative this new turn by describing Korah in v. 1 as the 'son of Izhar the son of Kohath the son of Levi,' by adding vs. 8-11 and by working over vs. 16-18. The section 17:1-5 (16:36-40) was also added by him or at least in his spirit."

But in order to make out that Korah was not a Levite, it is necessary not only to strike vs. 7b and 8 from the text, but also his pedigree explicitly given, v. 1. This Dillmann shrinks from doing; and he makes the following frank confession, which overturns the whole hypothesis: "As in P Korah the leader of the company was a Levite, and among the 250 were probably found some other Levites, and the rights of the Levites were then already ordained, ch. 3 sq. and 8, these verses might be defended as the original text of P." The only considerations adduced to the contrary are the expression "God of Israel" occurring v. 9, which is not a P phrase, and which might be a reason in the critics' eyes for referring it to E, but certainly not to a diaskeuast of the school of P; also marked prominence given to the "sons of Levi" who are addressed and identified with the company of Korah and set in antagonism to Aaron, vs. 7b-11, instead of Moses and Aaron, v. 3. But in specially addressing Korah and the Levites who were with him in the conspiracy, Moses neither alleges nor implies that the entire band consisted exclusively of Levites. And in failing to go the whole length with Kuenen in his eliminations from the text, Dillmann completely emasculates the hypothesis. A critic must be thoroughgoing, who would foist new meanings upon the text at variance with its plain intent. In admitting that Korah is a Levite, and yet supposing him to head an insurrection designed to annihilate the privileges and prerogatives of his own tribe, he involves himself in an inconsistency that wrecks his theory. An additional argument of Dillmann is thus voiced by Dr. Driver: "Observe, further, the threefold speech of Moses to Korah, vs. 5-7, 8-11, 16 sq., the third in part repeating simply the substance of the first." To this Nöldeke long since made reply. It certainly is surprising, he says, that Moses begins to speak three times, but the importance of the subject accounts for this. In the first address he tells them how they can learn God's will; in the second he makes earnest representations to them; in the third he gives more exact directions what to do on the following day. These words of Nöldeke meet the case exactly. Moses first speaks to Korah and his entire company, bidding them test the question on the morrow by presenting themselves at the Sanctuary with their censers. At the close he turns to the Levites amongst them, to whom he makes a special appeal. Finally, after Dathan and Abiram had refused to obey his summons, he turns once more to the entire company of Korah, renewing his demand that they should without fail present themselves at the Sanctuary on the morrow each with his censor, and Aaron too should bring his censor. There is nothing superfluous; all falls properly into its place.

Kittel apparently tries to combine Kuenen's view with that of Wellhausen, by making the earth swallow up P's Korah and his company, while those of the



later diaskeuast are consumed by fire. It is difficult to say what Dr. Driver intended by assigning v. 32b to P. This is quite intelligible in Kittel, who gives P vs. 32-34 and attributes v. 35 to the diaskeuast; but not in Driver who gives all the rest of vs. 27b-34 to JE and v. 35 to P, and who strikes out "Korah" from vs. 24 and 27a.\*

It is urged in favor of assigning 17:1-5† to a later diaskeuast, that vs. 3,4 contradict Ex. 27:2, 38:2 according to which the altar was already overlaid with brass. The contradiction is altogether imaginary. What was to prevent putting an additional covering of brass upon the altar, or substituting another covering for that which was upon it? Besides the partition of ch. 17 between P and a supposed diaskeuast falls with the failure to establish a like partition in ch. 16.

The remainder of ch. 17 is unanimously given to P, and it is claimed that the matter decided was the priestly rights of the tribe of Levi, not of Aaron and his house. But the priesthood of Levi centered in Aaron; his name was to be written on the rod of Levi; the tribe had no claim to priestly prerogatives except as its most distinguished son had been set apart to exercise them, and was now confirmed in their possession. The failure of the critics to establish any partition in the account of Korah in ch. 16, or to eject any portion of it from the text settles the meaning of ch. 17 beyond further controversy.

Knobel in the interest of his peculiar partition, in which he has had no following, claimed that the last two verses of ch. 17 were out of place, and that they must be linked back to 16:27b as an outcry of terror on the part of those who witnessed the fate of Dathan and Abiram, which is presupposed in the source from which this is taken, but not explicitly recorded. But, as Dillmann remarks, it is the peril of approach to the Tabernacle, which is emphasized. It is a wail of terror occasioned not only by the destruction of those who were swallowed up in the earth, but by that also of the 250 who were consumed by fire and those who perished in the succeeding plague. And the proper place to insert it is just here at the close of the entire narrative, to mark the impression which the entire transaction left upon those who had passed through those awful scenes.

#### 6) THE LANGUAGE OF P.‡

There is not the space at present to point out in detail the factitious nature of these tabulated words and phrases, and to show how they are dependent upon critical manipulation and minute subdivision of the text. All that is now possible is to refer the reader to the intimations upon this point, which occur in the general course of the discussion.

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\* Dr. Driver says that Wellhausen has receded from his former position and adopted that of Kuenen. I have no doubt of the correctness of the statement, though I have not been able to verify the reference.

† In the Hebrew text; the English Bible 16:36-40.

‡ The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 265. The references are to former articles in this series, where the proper explanations are given.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) ארץ כנען VI., p. 117. (3) נשיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (4) על פי יהוה always assigned to P. (5) בני ישראל Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (6) מאד מאד V., p. 174 (7:19). (7) כבוד יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (8) נשיא ערה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (9) נתן (for שים) V., p.

152 (12). (10) ערות (= the law) Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (11) שכן V., p. 174 (8:1). (12) משמרת Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (13) עשה כן V., p. 174 (6:22). (14) גוע V., p. 174 (6:17).

## NEW WORDS.

None.

## 7) THE LANGUAGE OF J.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) מולדת V., p. 177. (3) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (4) כי על-כן Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (5) רע בעיני Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (6) מוצא חן V., p. 175. (8) שים V., p. 154. (9) חרה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (10) אדמה V., p. 153. (11) אדמה V., p. 153. (12) מלא Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (13) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (14) שטר Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (15) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) ירד (of God) V., p. 176. (17) אצל Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (18) למה-זה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (19) עתה V., p. 155. (20) קרה Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (21) יסף V., p. 163. (22) ושמ... also in P Gen. 36:37; Num. 25:14,15. (23) רק V., p. 175. (24) הביט Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) מדוע Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (26) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (27) איש אל

אחי V., p. 176. (28) השכם בבקר Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (29) מוש Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (30) פן V., p. 155. (31) פצה V., p. 163. (32) שאול Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) משנאים Num. 10:35 J; besides in Hex. only Deut. 32:41; 33:1. (2) מספסף Num. 11:4 J; all in O. T. (3) אמן Num. 11:12 J; all in Hex. (4) ורא Num. 11:20 J; all in O. T. (5) אפס Num. 13:28; 22:35 J; 23:13 E; Deut. 15:4; 32:36; 33:17; all in O. T. (6) נאץ Num. 14:11 R; v. 23 E; 16:30 J; Deut. 31:20; 32:19; all in Hex. (7) עפל Num. 14:44 J; besides in O. T. only Hab. 2:4.

## 8) THE LANGUAGE OF E.†

## OLD WORDS.

(1) חרה אף V., p. 163. (2) צעק V., p. 163. (3) התפלל Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (4) טחן Ex. 32:20 J; Num. 11:8 E; Deut. 9:21; all in Hex. (5) ירד Sect. 16, Lang. of J. (6) טרם V., p. 156. (7) על אודות VI., p. 166. (8) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) שלג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (10) כי (= I beseech thee) Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (11) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) סגר V., p. 154. (13) אשכל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (14) שית Sect. 8, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) מתאווין Num. 11:1 E; besides in O.T. only Lam. 3:39. (2) שקע Num. 11:2 E; all in Hex. (3) שוט Num. 11:8 E; all in Hex.

(4) דוך Num. 11:8 E; all in O. T. (5) פרור Num. 11:8 E; all in Hex. (6) לשד Num. 11:8 E; besides in O. T. only Ps. 32:4. (7) שטח Num. 11:32 E; all in Hex. (8) דבר ב (= speak against) Num. 12:1,8; 21:5,7 E. (9) בשית Num. 12:1 E; all in Hex. (10) ענו Num. 12:3 E; all in Hex. (11) ואל (= to act foolishly) Num. 12:11 E; all in Hex. (12) ירק (= to spit) Num. 12:14 E; Deut. 25:9; (15) מלא אחר Num. 14:24; Josh. 14:8,9,14 E; all in O. T. (13) כלם Num. 12:14 E; all in Hex. (14) הסה Num. 13:30 E; all in Hex. Num. 32:11,12 J; Deut. 1:36; all in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 269.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 273.

## SECTION XVIII. NUMBERS 20:1-27:11.

## 1. Chapters 20,21.

In 20:1-13 water is brought from the rock at Kadesh. The critics are here again in great perplexity. The assumed criteria of the different documents are so intermingled that it is impossible to separate them without absolute disintegration of the entire paragraph. The first verse is alleged to be made up of either two or three constituents. The first clause, which notes the arrival of the congregation at the wilderness of Zin, belongs to P; the last clause recording the death of Miriam is from E; and the abode in Kadesh in the second clause is by Wellhausen referred to J; Dillmann is in doubt whether it is drawn from J or from E. The mention of the month but not the year in the first clause has given rise to a great amount of needless speculation. It is gravely asserted that the year must have been stated in the document from which the clause was extracted, but the divergence between the documents on this point was so serious and irreconcilable that R felt constrained to omit it. It is said that according to P the people now first arrived at Kadesh, by proceeding from the wilderness of Paran, in which they had hitherto been, to that of Zin in which Kadesh was situated. The spies were sent in the second year of the exodus from some indeterminate place in the wilderness of Paran, 13:3, whence they were condemned to go southward to wander in the desert, and they do not reach Kadesh until the first month of the fortieth year. In E the spies were sent from Kadesh, and the people wandered from thence back toward the Red Sea until finally after compassing the land of Edom they came back to the land east of the Jordan, Num. 14:25; Deut. 1:40,45; 2:1. According to J after sending the spies from Kadesh the people abode there "many days," Deut. 1:46, which Wellhausen interprets to mean "long years," i. e. the entire interval between the mission of the spies and their march to the land east of the Jordan. As Kadesh Gen. 14:7 bears the name En-mishpat, Fountain of Judgment, he infers that it was in Israelitish tradition a place of equal importance with Sinai as a place of legislation; or rather, he is inclined to believe that in the original form of this tradition the people were not at Sinai at all, but marched at once from the Red Sea to Kadesh and received their laws there. His reasons are that Judg. 11:16 makes no mention of Sinai, and in Ex. 17, which he takes to be another version of what occurred at Kadesh, the bringing of water from the rock was just before the giving of the law. And as Wellhausen thus easily gets rid of Sinai, Meyer\* with equal ease expunges Joshua from the history. He tells us that in J Israel, after gaining full information at Kadesh from the spies, moved forward at once to the conquest of the land, the true account of which is to be found not in the book of Joshua but in Judges ch. 1, when purged from interpolations. It is the easiest thing in the

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\* Stade's *Zeitschrift*, I., pp. 135 sqq.



world for a critic by this process to eliminate any feature from a narrative that he pleases. All that is requisite is to partition the documents so that it shall be absent from one or more of them, and then to insist that the tradition therein represented knew nothing of such an occurrence.

That there is no discrepancy in regard to the place from which the spies were sent, was shown when ch. 13 was under consideration. As the children of Israel were at Kadesh at that time and now arrive again 37 years later, it is plain that this is a second visit. But this the critics strenuously deny. Because the people were at Kadesh, 20:14 JE, it is inferred that they had remained there ever since their first arrival, because no second coming is spoken of in this document. It lies plainly enough in the narrative to be sure, 20:1, but this has been assigned to the other document, and hence they will not suffer it to be taken into the account. And yet in innumerable instances they are obliged to assume that a given matter must have been stated in all the documents, though R has only preserved what was found in one, deeming this sufficient. And Dillmann (on Num. 14:34) argues that the silence of one or even two of the documents in respect to the forty years wandering in the desert involves no disagreement and does not discredit the fact. He also sets aside Meyer's preposterous conclusion from similar premises that the war against Sihon king of the Amorites 21:21 sqq. was a figment of later times. It is expressly stated that they were at Kadesh in the second year of the exodus, Num. 13:26; that they were bidden to leave Kadesh, 14:25; and that they came to Kadesh in the fortieth year. The critics assign the first statement to J, the second to E, and the third to P, and then claim that here is a serious contradiction. Whereas there is no contrariety in these statements, even if their partition were allowed. The contradiction lies merely in the utterly baseless conjectural narratives which they frame for these supposititious documents, and by which they undertake by creations of their own to fill the void produced by sundering paragraphs from the connection in which they stand. The fact that the name Kadesh occurs but once in the list of stations ch. 33 occasions no difficulty.\* It is not unlikely that it is to be found there under some other name, perhaps Rithmah, v. 18, cf. 12:16; 13:26. Nor is it any objection that no record has been preserved of what took place during the years that intervened between the two visits to Kadesh. The period of wandering was barren of incidents appropriate to the sacred history. The rebellion of Korah and his associates and a few ritual laws are noted; all the rest is blank. The only other fact of importance, by which this long and weary sojourn in the

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\* The occurrence of Ezion-geber 33:35 after a long series of stations otherwise unknown shows that the children of Israel had retraced their steps and gone back to the Red Sea, whence they proceed once more to Kadesh, v. 36. And on Dillmann's analysis the same thing appears from E. In 14:25 E the people are at Kadesh and are bidden to march back toward the Red Sea; and yet after this 20:1-14 they are again at Kadesh. This can only be escaped by arbitrarily assuming that R has transposed these narratives.

desert was characterized was the dying out of the old generation, and the growing up of the new.

The complication of the succeeding paragraph from a critical point of view is such that Kuenen abandons the attempt to unravel it as hopeless. He says (*Hex.*, p. 100), "With regard to Num. 20:1-13 opinions differ much." Then after stating the divergent partitions of the passage severally proposed by Colenso, Schrader, Nöldeke, Kayser, Wellhausen, and Knobel he adds in conclusion, "I should prefer to abstain from any decisive opinion on the details." The following is the analysis of Dillmann, which he has adopted mainly from Kayser. V. 2 is from P, 3a from E (E's account lacks a beginning, which makes it necessary to assume that something like 2a had preceded), 3b from P (because of the allusion to 16:35; 17:11-14), 4,5 from E (but the plural "ye" referring to Moses and Aaron is due to R, for E would not join Aaron with Moses), 6 from P, 7,8 "Take the rod" from E, (since Moses' rod is meant, v. 11), "and assemble the congregation, thou and Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water" from P; "and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock, so shalt thou give the congregation and their cattle drink" from E (only "rock" and "congregation" are P words, and have been inserted by R), 9,10a from P, (on the assumption that "the rod from before Jehovah" means Aaron's rod, 17:25), 10b mainly from E (but modified by R with words from P), 11 from E (only "congregation" is a P word), 12 from P (though one clause was inserted by R), 13 doubtful whether it is from P or E.

It is certainly a very extraordinary procedure to attribute to R that he should make up his narrative by selecting clauses alternately from two different documents, and that a narrative so constituted should nevertheless read smoothly and continuously. It is no commendation of the critical hypothesis that such questionable expedients must be resorted to in order to carry it successfully through; that it requires such minute splitting of sentences, and such frequent assumptions of manipulation by R.

It is alleged that v. 24; 27:14; Deut. 32:51 imply a different view of this transaction from that which is yielded by the existing form of the narrative. Moses and Aaron are there declared to have been excluded from Canaan because they rebelled against God's word and trespassed against him; and it is said that this is not borne out by either the language or the conduct attributed to them. The inference is thence drawn that R has materially altered the words ascribed to Moses v. 10 so as to soften down the expressions used in the document from which he drew, which seemed to reflect too severely upon the great leaders of the people. In the original story as given in P Moses and Aaron were themselves the "rebels," and not the people; and the question "shall we bring them water out of the rock?" was addressed not to the people but to the Lord, and implied a refusal to do his bidding for the relief of the thirsty multitudes. But

the charge of falsification is gratuitous and unfounded; and the proposed emendation is utterly at variance with all that we know of Moses. That he could have been guilty of gross and contumacious resistance to an explicit divine command is inconceivable; nor is such a supposition required by any of the passages that relate to this matter. That the patience of Moses was exhausted so that he lost his temper and failed to control himself and "spake unadvisably with his lips," Ps. 106:32,33, we can easily understand. He had borne with their repeated provocations and murmurings through many long years, he had again and again interceded for them and saved them from deserved destruction; and now that after all the experience they had had of God's goodness and mercy and power exerted on their behalf, the warnings and instructions they had received and the inflictions sent upon them for their correction, they should here on the very borders of the promised land and on the very spot where their fathers had been doomed to perish in the wilderness, repeat their offence, demonstrate that this protracted discipline had been without avail, and incur the risk of a similar sentence once more, was more than he could bear and he failed to demean himself as he should have done on the occasion. The petulance displayed both in the address to the people and in smiting the rock twice, the distrust implied if not of the power yet of the grace of God to his transgressing people, and the self-exaltation in referring to their own agency in bringing forth the water rather than the immediate power of God, of which they were but the instruments, were seriously unbecoming their sacred office, and a betrayal of their trust as the accredited representatives of the Most High, and amply justify the censure from the mouth of the Lord, v. 12, "ye believed me not to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel," and v. 24, "ye rebelled against my word." They were themselves implicated in rebellion which they had charged upon the people; for they too were guilty of distrusting God, and that even after he had announced to them his purpose, and of dishonoring him before the people even while yielding formal compliance to the divine direction.

There is quite as little reason for the charge that R has tampered with the text of v. 12, and that "because ye believed me not" is a mollifying phrase substituted for a hypothetical original couched in severer terms. Faith in God is the only true principle of obedience, and want of faith is rebellion against him. The fact that "because" and "believe" are not P words in the critics' esteem is unfortunate for them, but cannot unsettle the integrity of the text.

The allegation that this paragraph and Ex. 17:1-7 are different versions of the same story is well answered by Ranke\* in reply to a like suggestion of Vater, and more fully by Hengstenberg.† One event occurred in the first, the other in the fortieth year of the exodus; one took place at Rephidim, the

\* *Untersuchungen*, II., p. 225.

† *Authentic des Pentateuches*, II., p. 378.



other at Kadesh. It is not true that both places received the same name; one was called Massah and Meribah there is not a word about giving a new name to the other and calling it Meribah. It is simply said, v. 13, "this is the water of strife;" and the allusions elsewhere are to "the water of strife at Kadesh," Num. 27:14, Deut. 32:51, suggesting a distinction from water of strife elsewhere. It is not surprising that there should be a want of water in both localities, and that the same cause should lead to similar murmuring and a like supply. They were journeying in a desert, and there were doubtless frequent occasions of murmuring for lack of water, cf. Ex. 15:22-24; Num. 21:5. But the principal point in the present narrative and the chief reason for recording it is neither the necessity of the people nor the miraculous provision that was made for it, but the sin of Moses and Aaron and their consequent exclusion from Canaan, which left its impress on the entire future course of the history.

Wellhausen looks upon this narrative as a legend respecting the origin of the spring at Kadesh. And probably Dillmann's view is not materially different, since he remarks upon the digging of the well, 21:16-18, "This well was afterwards held in remembrance as a gift of God to the thirsty people, like that in 20:13, but the song connected with it has also kept in memory the natural means by which it was opened; and this case is so far instructive in relation to others."

In his farewell address to the people Moses makes repeated and touching allusion to the sentence passed upon him at Kadesh, Deut. 1:37; 3:26; 4:21. However he does not expressly say that it occurred at the bringing of water from the rock; and he once speaks of it along with the exception in favor of Caleb and Joshua. Thereupon Dillmann makes this comment: "It may be inferred that E also had something respecting Moses' being condemned not to enter the promised land, but from the connection in which it is mentioned it was probably there referred to a different occasion." The critics have a great horror of harmonizing Scripture narratives; but they are ever ready with their conjectures for setting them at variance, where no variance exists.

The negotiations with Edom 20:14-21\* and the similar passage relating to the Amorites 21:21-31 are by Wellhausen assigned to J, by Dillmann to E; and Aaron's death 20:22-29 is given to P. The remainder of ch. 21 is in the esteem of the critics, to use a term applied to it by Wellhausen, quite "variegated." Dillmann gives 21:1-3 to J, and vs. 4-9 to E; only it is unfortunate for this view

\* According to Num. 20:14-21 Edom (and Judg. 11:17 Moab) refused Israel's request for a free passage and their offer to pay for bread and water; while in Deut. 2:29 Edom and Moab are credited with having sold Israel food and drink while passing through their land. Kurtz (*Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, II. p. 419) shows how readily both statements are explicable from a difference of time and place. The mountains of Edom on the west rise steep and rugged from the Arabah, and only a few passes easily garrisoned are accessible on that side, but on the east they fall off gradually into an elevated region. On this side their land was open, and there was good reason why they should there make no hostile demonstration against the warriors of Israel. And the offence, which they had given Israel by their hostile attitude at the west, would of itself dispose them to greater care to avoid every provocation on the east.

of the case that v. 4 speaks of journeying from Mount Hor, to which Israel came 20:22, a verse assigned to P. But R is on hand to remedy the evil. Dillmann tells us that R has here substituted "Mount Hor" for "Kadesh," where Israel was in the last E passage. He further gives vs. 10,11 to P, because they correspond with the station list 33:43,44; but by the same test 21:1-3 should be given to P on account of its correspondence with 33:40; but as this does not suit the critical sense, R is called upon again, and charged with having interpolated 33:40. The stations in vs. 12-20 have no equivalents in ch. 33, and for that reason are held not to belong to P, to whom the two preceding verses are attributed; they must, it is said, have been taken from some list of different origin. And as this has seven stations where ch. 33 has but four, it must in Knobel's opinion have represented Israel as journeying by a more circuitous route. But this neither argues diversity of authorship nor difference of representation. It has simply been prepared with a different purpose. Ch. 33 does not pretend to note every stopping-place, but merely marks enough of the principal points to indicate the general route. This is plain from v. 9, and particularly from v. 36, where the entire distance from a port on the Red Sea to Kadesh on the southern border of Canaan is passed over without recording a single intervening station. On the contrary 21:12-20 notes several minor stations for the sake of introducing something in relation to them, or of preparing the way for something that is to follow, cf. v. 20 with 22:41; 23:14,28.

The slight variation in the form of the itinerary in the verses under consideration is also made a pretext for division. V. 11 "They journeyed from Oboth and pitched in Iye-abarim." V. 12, instead of continuing on this exact model, that is almost invariably maintained throughout ch. 33, does not repeat the name of the last station, but simply says: "From thence they journeyed and pitched in the valley of Zered." In like manner v. 13. Vs. 16,18-20 abbreviate still further by omitting both the verbs. If, now, exactness of form is essential to identity of authorship, there is as much reason for sundering vs. 12,13 from the verses that follow as from those that precede them. And, notwithstanding the general fixity of form in ch. 33, v. 9 departs from it quite as much as 21:12,13. Instead of "They journeyed from Marah and pitched in Elim," it reads "They journeyed from Marah and came unto Elim...and pitched there."

That the entire itinerary vs. 10-20 is a unit also appears from the fact that 22:1, which the critics assign to P, connects not with v. 11 P, but with v. 20, which it thus appears they are mistaken in attributing to a different source. For in 33:44-48 the station immediately preceding "the plains of Moab" is not "Iye-abarim" but "the mountains of Abarim" which corresponds to "Pisgah," 21:20. Moreover "thence" in v. 12 has nothing to refer to, if it is severed from v. 11.

It is also argued that vs. 21-31 cannot be by the author of the preceding itinerary, because in v. 20 Israel is already beyond the place at which we find

them in v. 21. But this affords no reason for division. The writer simply saw fit to complete his itinerary as far as Pisgah before recommencing his narrative.

It appears, consequently, that this chapter is not quite so "variegated" as the critics represent it to be. Their grounds of partition are altogether invalid. And their assaults upon its historical accuracy are equally futile. It is charged that in v. 3 an event which took place at a much later period, Judg. 1:17, is erroneously transferred to the time of Moses. To this it has been replied that the fact is simply mentioned here by anticipation, but it is not said that it occurred at this time. The charge is without foundation, and the apology is unnecessary. Israel gained a victory over the king of Arad in retaliation for the attack which he had made upon them, and devoted some of his cities, calling one of them Hormah. This is not, as some have alleged, a parallel to Num. 14:45, in which Israel is said to have suffered defeat. The events are quite distinct and separated by an interval of 37 years. Hormah is in 14:45 called not by the name which it bore at the time, but by that which was given to it 21:3. After Israel's departure v. 4 the Canaanites again occupied the place and continued to use its ancient name. The king of Hormah is included Josh. 12:14 in the enumeration of the kings smitten by Joshua; and in the division of the land, Josh. 19:4, Hormah fell to the portion of Simeon, and when finally captured by that tribe in conjunction with Judah, Judg. 1:17, its Canaanitish name was abolished, and that by which Israel had known it ever since the time of Moses reimposed.\*

The eagerness, with which a certain class of critics seize upon every opportunity to discredit the religion of Israel, finds illustration in Kuenen's treatment of the narrative in vs. 6-9. He conceives that the brazen serpent was set up by Moses as an object of worship, and discredits the account here given as an attempt in later times to free the great legislator from complicity in idolatry. He says (*Hex.*, p. 245):

"Num. 21:4b-9 must be brought into connection with 2 Kings 18:4. The author of this latter was acquainted with the story in Numbers, as we see from his words 'the brazen serpent, which Moses made.' But it is very doubtful whether Hezekiah and his advisers likewise knew it. The breaking of the Nehushtan seems rather to indicate that they regarded it not as a venerable and ancient symbol, but as an idol, or at any rate an image of Yahwe, on which it was their duty to execute the sentence pronounced by Isaiah. To that extent the writer of Num. 21:4-9 and Isaiah differ, but on the main issue they are at one, since even the former does not defend the idol or Yahwe-image, and only rescues the brazen serpent by making it an innocent symbol of Yahwe's healing power."

It is scarcely necessary to say that the gross misrepresentation is utterly without foundation, and is purely a figment of his own imagination. The purpose for which the brazen serpent was set up is distinctly stated in the narrative and is entirely free from idolatrous taint. Hezekiah put an end to the perversion of this ancient relic to purposes of idolatry by breaking it to pieces.

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\* Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Pentateuches*, II., p. 220.



Meyer's extraordinary hypothesis endorsed by Stade held that the war against Sihon vs. 21-31 is a fiction of later times, invented to rebut the claims of Moab, the real fact being that there was no Amorite kingdom east of the Jordan, and Israel intruded there into Moabitish territory, contrary to the representations here made and repeated by Jephthah Judg. 11:15-23. This is refuted in detail by Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 236) and by Dillmann in his comments on this passage. It is not worth while to reproduce their discussion of so absurd a position. Kuenen very aptly says "Israel surely never waged a paper war. It is one thing to make apologetic use of such a fact as Israel's respect of Moab's frontier, and quite another to invent it for polemical purposes." It is interesting and curious to observe how in condemning this critical extravagance they censure methods which upon occasion they adopt themselves, and urge arguments at variance with their own positions elsewhere. Kuenen repels in this instance his favorite argument from silence, claiming that it does not follow from vs. 18b-20 that the author knew of no Amorite kingdom; for he had no occasion to mention it. And he adduces it in evidence of the weakness of Meyer's position that he is obliged to strike out certain words as a gloss from v. 29. Dillmann makes his strong point that the positive statements of one document should not be rejected, and an opposite conclusion drawn from the indirect data of other documents which are capable of being variously understood.

Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 253) says that vs. 33-35 recording the conquest of Og king of Bashan "is a later addition rounding off the conception of the conquest of the whole Transjordanic district in the time of Moses." What makes it so evident to him he does not explain. This leaks out, however, two pages after, where he speaks of the "wholly unhistorical conception of the unity of Israel in the time of Moses, and the conquest of Canaan as an act accomplished simul et semel." This statement is at variance with his a priori conception of the history; therefore it is not true and the passage which contains it is not genuine. Wellhausen argues that this passage is an interpolation on four grounds. 1. Israel continued to dwell in the land of the Amorites v. 31. But how their occupation of this conquered territory prevented them from making additional conquests does not appear. 2. Nothing is said of the subjugation of the king of Bashan 22:2. But that verse speaks of "all that Israel had done to the Amorites;" and both Sihon and Og were kings of the Amorites, Deut. 4:46.47. 3. The silence of Judg. 11:22. But Dillmann admits in repeating these arguments that there was no occasion for any allusion to Bashan in this passage. 4. The language of vs. 33-35 differs from that of the preceding paragraph. Of this he gives but a single illustration, which has no significance whatever.\* Dillmann adds another argument which he says is the decisive one, viz., that these verses agree verbatim with Deut.

\* The only instance given of what he seems to regard as a characteristic diversity of the language is that v. 35 has וַיִּבְרָח while v. 24 has וַיִּבְרָח.

3:1-3 and are Deuteronomic in language and thought. He hence infers that they have been interpolated here from Deuteronomy. But the borrowing may quite as easily have been the other way.

## 2. Chapters 22-24.

It is charged that 22:22-35 does not agree with the preceding part of the chapter, and must be attributed to a different source. Balaam had consulted the Lord and the Lord had told him to go, and yet here God is said to have been displeased with him for going. And when Balaam was stopped by the angel, he does not once allude to the fact that he was going by divine permission. The injunction laid upon him by the angel, v. 35, is precisely the same that the Lord had given him before starting, v. 20. So that the appearance of the angel in the one form of the story simply served the same purpose with the nocturnal revelations granted to Balaam in the other. According to v. 21 he went with the princes of Moab, but in v. 22 he was only attended by his two servants.

Kuenen regards vs. 22-35 as a fragment of an older Balaam-legend. He says (*Hex.*, p. 235), "The Balaam who sets out without consulting Yahwe, or perhaps against his orders, and is then opposed by the angel, seems to me to have an antique flavor, in keeping with the introduction of the speaking ass, and to be more primitive than the Balaam who is determined from the first to submit to God's command in spite of his wish to comply with Balak's proposal."

Wellhausen is keen-eyed enough to see that the verbal correspondence of v. 35 with vs. 20,21 is such that it cannot be from an independent source. He therefore refers it to R, who has introduced it for the sake of harmonizing the two accounts. He must consequently find another termination to this episode, which he does by attaching vs. 37 and 39 to vs. 22-34 and filling the intervals with his own imagination. He thus makes out that Balaam after the encounter with the angel returned home; whereupon Balak went personally for him and then Balaam came. How he dared venture after being so summarily sent back, and why the angel interposed no further hindrance, Wellhausen does not tell us.

Disposed as he was to the partition of Pentateuchal narratives Knobel annuls the entire basis for it here by showing what is obvious to every unprejudiced mind, that the narrative is consistent throughout, and that there is no such variance as others have alleged. In v. 12 God had forbidden Balaam to go, because he must not curse the people. In v. 20 the imperative is not a command, but permissive as in Gen. 16:6; 2 Sam. 18:23; 2 Kgs. 2:17. The Lord permits Balaam to go as he desires to do, but imposes the condition that he must govern himself entirely by divine direction. Balaam goes assuming that God would not insist on prohibiting the curse, as he had not continued to forbid his going. Balaam accepts Balak's invitation and goes with his ambassadors for the purpose of cursing. This displeased the Lord, and the angel was sent to reiterate and emphasize the divine

command in a manner that should secure obedience. That Balaam with his servants might for a time be separated by a short distance from the company with which he was travelling, especially when passing along a narrow and winding path, v. 24, is not difficult to imagine; that he was travelling with the princes of Moab is expressly said, v. 35.

The critics give vs. 22-35 to J, and the rest of the chapter to E, and appeal in justification to the interchange of divine names, though Wellhausen apologetically adds that they have not been accurately preserved. The occurrence of Elohîm four times in vs. 2-21 is urged as determining it to belong to E; but Jehovah also occurs four times where it is assumed that the word was originally Elohîm, but it has been changed by R. Jehovah predominates in vs. 22-35 J, but Elohîm is found in v. 22, for which R is again held responsible. The next two chapters are divided between the same two documents, but with some uncertainty to which each should belong. Wellhausen assigns ch. 23 to J, and ch. 24 to E; Dillmann reverses it, giving ch. 23 to E, and ch. 24 to J. But however they dispose of them, the divine names will not suit, and R must be supposed to have manipulated them here again.

But now if instead of applying this mechanical rule which will not match the facts, we examine into the real state of the case, it will appear that there is no great mystery in the use of these names. There is an obvious design that runs through the whole, and a manifest significance in the manner of their employment. In all the utterances of Balaam throughout these chapters, he constantly uses the name Jehovah with the single exception of 22:38, where in speaking to Balak he says, "Have I any power at all to say anything? The word that God putteth in my mouth that shall I speak." Here the contrast is between the divine and that which is merely human. Apart from this he invariably uses the name Jehovah, whether he is speaking to Balak's messengers, 22:8,13,18,19; to Balak, 23:3,12,26; 24:13; or uttering his prophecies,\* 23:8,21; 24:6. He thus indicates that it was Jehovah whom he professed to consult, and whose will he undertook to declare. And it was doubtless because of his supposed power with the God of Israel, that Balak particularly desired his aid in this emergency. Hence, too, Balak uses Jehovah in addressing Balaam, 23:17; 24:11; only once Elohîm, 23:27, as non-Israelites commonly do. When the writer himself in the course of his narrative speaks of God in connection with this heathen seer he steadfastly uses Elohîm at the outset. Balaam regularly proposes to tell the messengers of Balak what Jehovah will say to him, but the writer with equal uniformity says that Elohîm came to him and spoke to him, 22:9,10,12,20,22. He is not recognized as an accredited prophet of Jehovah; he is a soothsayer, Josh. 13:22, who used the

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\* In these he likewise uses the poetical epithets El, Elyon, and Shaddai, but never Elohîm: of course Jehovah my God, 22:18, and Jehovah his God, 23:21, are not to be regarded as exceptions to the statements made above.



arts of divination, Num. 24:1, and to whom the rewards of divination were offered, 22:7. But while it is only Elohim, the general term denoting the deity, which is put by the sacred writer in relation to Balaam considered as a heathen seer, it is the Angel of Jehovah who comes forth to confront him on his unhalloved errand, and Jehovah the guardian and defender of Israel who constrains him to pronounce a blessing instead of the curse which it was in his heart to utter. It is thus made evident that this chosen dependence of Israel's foes was after all in the hands of Israel's God, and under his absolute control and guidance in every step that he took and every word that he uttered. Hence from 22:22 onward, wherever the writer speaks, he uses the name Jehovah, not only in the encounter by the way but after his arrival in determining what he shall say. To this there are but two exceptions; in 23:4 when Balaam had gone to a summit to look out for auguries, we are reminded by the phrase 'And God (Elohim) met Balaam' that he was but a heathen seer at last; yet it was Jehovah, vs. 5, 16, who put the word in his mouth. In 24:2 the thought to be expressed is that he was divinely inspired, that he spoke by an impulse from above and from no promptings of his own; a thought which is further emphasized by Balaam himself in the opening of his discourse, vs. 3, 4. To indicate this contrast of the human and divine it is said that 'the Spirit of God (Elohim) came upon him;' but it was the conviction forced upon him that it was Jehovah's purpose to bless Israel which kept him from going to meet auguries as at other times, v. 1. A striking feature in the narrative is lost sight of, if this significant employment of the divine names is overlooked. No account can be given of this nice discrimination by the partition hypothesis, which obliterates it entirely, and sees nothing but the unmeaning usage of different writers coupled with R's arbitrary disturbance of the text for no imaginable reason.\*

Wellhausen further attempts to bolster up the partition of ch. 22 by the discovery of doublets. These are adopted and the number increased by Dillmann, who accordingly finds several scraps of J worked into E's portion of the narrative. V. 3a is cut out for J as an unmeaning tautology along side of 3b, as though nothing could be conceded to a writer but the baldest expression of his thought. V. 4 comes under the condemnation of suggesting a different ground of apprehension from that in v. 6, not fear of military power but concern lest such large masses of people would use up all the surrounding pasture grounds. This would contain no allusion to the previous wars of Israel, while v. 6 goes with E, who has just recounted the victory over Sihon. And yet J had told how they had dealt with the king of Arad 21:1-3; and the "sore afraid" of v. 3a points to something more than Dillmann finds in v. 4. Moreover, the statement v. 4b

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\* A like alternation of divine names with its profound significance, where the partition hypothesis is similarly at fault, occurs in Gen. 22, where Elohim the generic name for the Deity is used in the temptation of Abraham, and it is Jehovah and the Angel of Jehovah who appears for the rescue of the patriarch and his child. See *HEBRAICA VI.*, p. 162.

"Balak was king of Moab" is declared superfluous after v. 2, in which we are told that the words "king of Moab" must originally have been attached to the name of Balak and R struck them out because of this clause which he was about to insert from J. But if R thought it best to reserve this statement for v. 4, why may not the original writer have done the same? Hypothetical emendations of the text form a slender ground for a critical partition otherwise uncalled for. The critics further find "the elders of Midian" in v. 4 and again v. 7 embarrassing. Moab and Midian are connected again ch. 25, where the critics sunder them by slicing the chapter into two parts, each of which is incomplete without the other. Wellhausen suspects that Midian has been introduced here by R to prepare the way for the subsequent junction, which the critics will not allow. But this conjecture is too far fetched, particularly as Moab and Midian are also brought together in Gen. 36:35. These incidental indications of the intimate association of Midian and Moab are confirmed by Josh. 13:21, where the chiefs of Midian are called princes of Sihon, who had founded an Amorite kingdom in Moabite territory. Dillmann contents himself with assigning vs. 4 and 7a to J, and noting that Moab and Ammon act in concert in J but not in E. Of course if a critic may erase what he pleases from a passage he can limit its contents accordingly.

Offence is taken at the clause in v. 5, "the land of the children of his people," and by the addition of a single letter in Hebrew it is converted into "the land of the children of Ammon." This is then sundered from the context which in this new form it palpably contradicts, and assigned to J and thus an additional contrariety is established between J and E. In E Balaam was from Mesopotamia, in J he was a Midianite residing in Ammonite territory. How easy it is to find corroboration for a foregone conclusion may be seen from the fact that 22:24 sq. is actually pressed into the support of this conjecture, which is directly in the face of all historical testimony. These verses, we are told, presuppose a cultivated region, not the way from Pethor through the Syrian desert.

The plain reference to 22:18 in 24:11-13, which Dillmann attributes to J, makes it necessary for him to cut 22:17,18 out of its connection and give it to J likewise. Hence arises a fresh diversity. In J but not in E Balak's messengers take Balaam the rewards of divination, and when these prove insufficient, they promise him great treasures. A new diversity of diction follows also. J has, v. 18, "servants of Balak," whereas E calls them "princes of Moab," vs. 14,15,21. Dillmann escapes from the admission that J calls them the same in v. 35 by referring the last clause of the verse to R. But if "servants of Balak" may be by the same hand as "elders of Moab," J v. 7, why not "princes of Moab" also?

Both Wellhausen and Dillmann admit that the narrative of Balaam and his prophecies has the appearance of unity and completeness, which however they attribute not to the original author, but to the compiler. As if artful adjustment of pieces independently prepared could supply the lack of true inward conformity. Wellhausen says:

"Ch. 23 and 24 have been put together by a third hand. It must be confessed that this has been well done. The narrative appears to be all of one casting, and has really been cast anew by the Jehovist (Rj.)"

Dillmann exhibits the orderly arrangement of the narrative and its adaptation to its place in the Pentateuchal history in the following admirable and striking manner :

"The uneasy dread which heathendom felt of the people of Jahve when come upon the scene, its foolish conceit that it could check Israel's career of conquest by its magical powers, the superior might of Jahve, who uses the heathen seer as his instrument for the advantage of his people, and transforms the curse which the seer sought to obtain by all the methods of his art into a blessing, comes very vividly out in this narrative, which thus far stands alongside of the narrative of Israel's success in arms in ch. 22. But the main stress falls upon the contents of the discourses of Balaam, the ideal presentation of the greatness and glory of Israel, and the light thrown upon his victorious might, which is ultimately to vanquish all heathendom ; in this respect it attaches itself to the glimpses of the final goal of history scattered through Genesis and Exodus 19. Corresponding to these points of view the narrative is very artistically framed in general and in particular. God does not allow permission for the undertaking of Balak and Balaam, which in itself is contrary to his will, to be, so to speak, wrung from him all at once, but only in three gradations or stages, in order then to convert it into its opposite by his superior might. And it is only gradually and by successive stages that the insight into the will of God dawns upon the seer ; it is only after a second trial that he gives up looking for omens and his inclination to curse, and thenceforward becomes the willing organ of the Spirit of God, who opens for him clear glances into the present and the future. And the divine oracles which he is obliged to announce, become progressively more full of meaning and more definite. They culminate in the fourth ; and the last three, which complete the number seven, take the form of brief supplementary words of the already exhausted seer to illuminate the remotest future. So that all is manifestly firmly fitted and well ordered, and there is no doubt that one hand has put the whole together in this manner."

These critics, nevertheless, maintain that ch. 23 and 24 are from different sources, one from J and the other from E ; but which is to be referred to J, and which to E, they cannot agree. Driver is unable to make up his mind. He says : "It is uncertain whether ch. 23, 24 belong to J or E, or whether they are the work of the compiler who has made use of both sources ; critics differ, and it is wisest to leave the question undetermined." What, then, are the reasons for setting aside all the marks of unity, which seem at least to be so decisive ?

Wellhausen alleges that in 24:2 Balaam appears to be looking down for the first time upon Israel encamped at the foot of the mountain, but in ch. 23 he had had the same view twice already. But there is not the slightest intimation that this was his first view of the camp of Israel. Balak was taking him from point to point in the hope that the ill success of his former endeavors might be remedied by surveying them from another station and under another aspect.

He further claims that the spot indicated 23:28 as the one from which the view is taken, is precisely the same as that in v. 14, for Peor must be identical with Pisgah, since both are said to "look down upon the desert," see 21:20 ; as if the outlook from two different peaks might not be in the same direction.



As Wellhausen's attempt to prove the existence of a "seam" in 23:25-24:1 is ineffectual, Dillmann tries to accomplish the same end in a different way. He admits that the author of ch. 23 may have had more than two discourses of Balaam, and that vs. 27,28 may be from his pen and introductory to a third discourse, but they have been transposed with v. 25, and the hand of R is apparent in vs. 28-30. The suggestion of a transposition is quite uncalled for; v. 25 does not close the transaction. Balak expresses the wish that if Balaam found that he could not curse, he would at least refrain from blessing. Balaam reminds the king that, as he had already told him, he was obliged to speak whatever Jehovah bade him. This naturally leads Balak to seek to nullify the blessings thus far pronounced by another effort to obtain the wished for curse. The interference of R with the text is thought to be seen in two particulars. "Looketh down upon the desert," v. 28, is alleged to have been inserted by R, and copied by him from 21:20, which is simply an inference from the critical partition which assigns these verses to distinct sources, and moreover does not explain why R should here attach a statement to Peor that is there annexed to Pisgah; and if the allegation were true, it would only be an additional reason for disputing Wellhausen's use of this clause based on the assumption of its genuineness. The actual fact is that the itinerary in 21:19,20, cannot be dis severed from the narrative before us, for it was introduced as preparatory to the mention of the stations selected by Balak.

The second allegation and the principal one is that R inserted vs. 29,30, the proof being that they are identical with vs. 1,2, whereas in the intervening instance v. 14, the same thing is more briefly stated. But the grounds of the conclusion are not very obvious. Why should not the writer spread out in full detail the preparations for this last ineffectual attempt, even if he had not dwelt at equal length upon the one that immediately preceded? After the sacrifices had been offered, Balaam sought no further auguries, since the conviction was now riveted upon him, that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel. In spite of what he had said, 18:19,20, he had not until this moment abandoned the secret hope, that by renewed sacrifices Jehovah might yet be propitiated and induced to favor their designs against his people. He now saw that this was hopeless, and accordingly surrendered himself without prosecuting the arts of divination further to the influence of the Spirit of God, which came upon him as he lifted up his eyes and gazed upon the hosts of Israel spread out before him.

"The wilderness," 24:1, is the plains of Moab, in which Israel was then encamped, 22:1. The expression does not justify the assumption of a difference of view as to the location of the people.

According to the narrative the first two views obtained of the people were partial, 22:41; 23:13. Balak rested his hope of a different result on taking Balaam to another spot, whence a full view of the entire encampment could be gained, 24:2.

This evident progression, which presupposes a third discourse additional to the two preceding, Dillmann seeks to set aside by the unfounded assertion that the limiting clause in 23:13 is an interpolation by R; and that the meaning of v. 13a is that a complete view of the people was gained from that point. But this arbitrary reversal of the explicit statement of the verse writes the condemnation of the critical hypothesis which requires it.

It is said still further that it would not be surprising if Balaam had introduced himself by an appropriate description in the first and second discourses and omitted to do this in those that followed, but that he should thus announce himself as the speaker for the first time in the third and fourth discourses, 24:3,4,15,16, is insupposable. The explanation is not difficult, however. It is from the increased emphasis with which he would affirm the greatness and the future triumphs of Israel in language transcending any he had hitherto used that he prefaces these discourses with explicit and reiterated declarations of the inspiration by which he spoke. He now for the first time abandons auguries, and surrenders himself wholly to the Spirit of God, that has come upon him with new power. Wellhausen argues that the author of 23:21,22,24 cannot have plagiarized from himself, and hence cannot have written 24:7-9; the two chapters are therefore not from the same hand. But why may not the same essential thought be repeated in different discourses by the same speaker, when dealing with the same general theme? Ch. 23:22 is repeated in almost identical terms in 24:8a, but the figure is developed in the latter passage and not in the former. And this is the only repetition. Israel's king is twice spoken of, but in 23:21 it is Jehovah, in 24:7 an earthly monarch. In 24:9 as in 23:24 the people are compared to a lion, but differently conceived; in the one case he is seeking his prey, in the other he is in repose. There is no mere copying, or tame repetition. A kindred thought is presented, or a like image with a varied application; suggestive of the free movement of the same vigorous mind, not of the servile imitator. The further assertion that 23:23 must be regarded as an interpolation thrust in between v. 22 and 24, because there is nothing corresponding to it between 24:8 and 9, is based on the gratuitous and false assumption that one passage is borrowed from the other or modelled after it. That it is a marginal gloss derived from a misinterpretation of "iniquity," 23:21 is without foundation. The verse is appropriate in the connection in which it stands, and as Dillmann observes may be regarded as preparatory to 24:1.

The denial of the reality of predictive prophecy leads the critics to affirm on the basis of Balaam's fourth discourse that the prophecies attributed to him cannot be dated prior to the reign of David,\* whose victories they find here

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\* This, too, is Dillmann's principal reason for assigning ch. 24 to the Judæan J, rather than the Ephraimite E.

described, and the last three discourses must belong to a much later period still, when the events there foreshown had taken place.\*

The fact is, however, as Hävernick† has clearly shown, that the prophecies of Balaam are appropriate to the Mosaic age, and to no other. He speaks of the tents of Jacob, of the people as brought forth out of Egypt, of Moab, Edom, Amalek, and the Kenites, but makes no mention of the Philistines. It is said of Amalek that Israel's king shall be greater than Agag 24:7, that Amalek shall perish forever, v. 20, and of Edom, that he shall come under the dominion of Israel, v. 18. This has been said to refer to the reign of Saul, who took Agag captive. But he did not destroy the Amalekites nor take possession of Edom. This was first done by David, and then it would not have occurred to anyone to exalt the greatness of Israel's king by a comparison with Amalek, or to make particular mention of Agag in such a connection. Still further, why should Asshur be said to waste the Kenites in particular, if this was written from the standpoint of the Assyrian period? And where was there even then anything answering to ships from Chittim afflicting Asshur and afflicting Eber? The terms of the prophecy carry us forward to the Greek and Roman empires; and that this should be written *post eventum* is quite impossible.

It is likewise alleged that a totally different representation of Balaam from that in the narrative before us is implied in 31:8,16, Josh. 13:22, according to which it was by his crafty counsel that the Midianitish women seduced the Israelites to idolatry and fornication, and he was slain in the war against Midian, by which the crime was avenged. It is said that this is quite another Balaam from the one who governed himself so constantly in his words and actions by the bidding of Jehovah. But his inclination to gratify Balak by cursing Israel appears throughout, and was only held in check by the constraint divinely laid upon him. But when Jehovah had accomplished his purpose of making him bless Israel against his will, and the divine constraint was taken off, what was to prevent his native inclination from resuming its sway, and that with the greater violence from the temporary check to which it had been subjected? He knew that the secret of Israel's strength, and of their future predominance lay in the blessing and favor of Jehovah. If they could only be persuaded to be unfaithful to him, their ruin would be effected. Hence his malicious suggestion. That Balaam's connection with the criminality of Baal-Peor is not intimated in ch. 25, but only brought out

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\* Vatke, who gives the whole of ch. 22-24 without exception to E, remarks (*Einleitung in d. A. T.*, p. 373): "The criticism of the Pentateuch is essentially fixed by this section; for by it alone are we able to determine the age of the sources. Balaam prophesies that Israel's king, viz: Saul shall be greater than Agag, cf. 1 Sam. 15:8,32,33; David's victories over Moab and Edom, 24:17,18; ships from Chittim humble Assyria = Shalmaneser compelled to withdraw from Tyre A.D. 722. But he knows nothing of the destruction of the Assyrians before Jerusalem in 701, which he must have mentioned, if it had taken place. E must consequently have written between 722 and 701." Such an argument can of course have weight only with those who agree with the critic in his principles, and in his interpretation of the details of the prophecy.

† *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, I., 2, p. 507.



incidentally, 31:16, is doubtless because it only became known to Israel after his malicious designs had been carried into effect.

It has also been charged that this is contradictory to 24:14,25, according to which Balaam returned to Mesopotamia after his interview with Balak; how then could he have counselled Midian, as he is said to have done, or have been slain in the war with Midian? The question is simply addressed to our ignorance. The history had no further concern with Balaam than to record what he did to the chosen people. It had no interest in giving the details of his biography. Whether he reached Pethor and was again sent for, or whether he simply started back on his way thither, and was diverted to give aid to Midian, we do not know. Either is possible, and either would be in harmony with all recorded facts. In strictness, 24:25, affirms simply that Balaam turned back homeward; that he actually reached his home might be presumed, if there were no reason to suspect the contrary, but it does not properly lie in the words. The interview with Balak had a very different result from that which had been anticipated. It now ended abruptly. Balak and Balaam parted, each going his own way, disappointed and chagrined. There was no occasion to say more.

### 3. Chapter 25.

The critics claim that vs. 1-5 are not in accord with vs. 6-19. Nöldeke sought to account for this by the assumption that the opening verses of the chapter had been "worked over"; but Knobel and others after him maintain that different sources have here been drawn upon. According to one Israel was led astray by Moabitish women, v. 1, according to the other by Midianitish, v. 6. In the former the offence was both whoredom and idolatry, vs. 1-3, in the latter whoredom only. In the former the transgressors were executed, vs. 4,5, in the latter they were punished by a plague that swept away 24,000, v. 9. In the former Moses by the Lord's command bid the judges inflict the penalty of death upon all the guilty, vs. 4,5; in the latter Phinehas unsolicited under the impulse of his own zeal transfixed with his javelin a particularly flagrant offender, vs. 7,8. Accordingly we are told that vs. 1-5 is from E or JE, and vs. 6 sqq. from P. But then the awkward confession has to be made that P's narrative lacks a beginning, and JE's lacks a conclusion. It must be assumed, therefore, that R has omitted the beginning of P's narrative, and substituted for it an extract from JE, which really has no congruity with it; and that he has in like manner dropped the end of JE's narrative, substituting for it an extract from P, to which it is altogether unrelated. The question then arises what conception we are to have of the good sense or the good faith of R, who could unwittingly or on purpose blend together two stories as distinct and as unlike as these are represented to be. How he could have perpetrated such a mistake with both narratives in full before him, when the

critics detect it so readily from the fragments that remain, it is difficult to imagine.

But apart from this embarrassment inherent in the very supposition of such an incongruous combination the proposed partition of the chapter is explicitly nullified by v. 18, where the matter of Peor, v. 3, and the matter of Cozbi, v. 15, are joined together as part and parcel of the same transaction, with which moreover the plague, v. 9, was associated. From this direct and positive testimony there is no escape but by a fresh assumption that R has either himself inserted vs. 17, 18, or has seriously meddled with the text.

The aid of R must also be invoked in other cases before the way is cleared for the partition of this chapter. The allusion to this same affair in 31:16 combines the trespass against Jehovah in the matter of Peor which the children of Israel were induced to commit, 25:3, with a resulting plague among the congregation, 25:9. The same combination recurs Josh. 22:17, again binding together the two parts of this chapter, which the critics insist on separating. Fresh assumptions of the interference of R with the text are necessary to get rid of these testimonies. The same thing seems to be implied in Deut. 4:3, which couples the sin of Baal-peor with divine inflictions upon those by whom it was committed. Ps. 106:28, 29 is also based upon the history in its present form. There is not the slightest indication anywhere that the narrative ever existed or was in circulation in any other form, none that it was ever known or referred to in either of the partial forms severally attributed to JE and P. Every allusion to it demonstrates that it was from the first the same complete whole, embracing all the particulars which it now contains. These do not belong to distinct much less discrepant accounts of the transactions here recorded, but constitute together one well-ordered and consistent whole, whose several portions are mutually supplementary, but in no respect discordant or suggestive whether of variant tradition or diversity of authorship.

The critics undertake to supply the lost beginning of P's narrative in substance at least by a comparison of 31:16. Dillmann tells us that it must have been prefaced by an account of the crafty counsel given by Balaam the soothsayer to the Midianites to seduce the Israelites by their women, and thus bring them into disfavor with Jehovah; also by the further statement that this was done and was followed by the plague. Wellhausen goes so far as to detect some misplaced fragments of this original preface in the elders of Midian going to consult Balaam with the rewards of divination in their hand, 22:4, 7. Kuenen on the contrary contends, *Hex.*, p. 335, that Balaam could not have been mentioned in the verses preceding 25:6, or R would not have omitted it. This premise is correct enough in itself, and might naturally raise the question whether the true beginning of the narrative, vs. 6 sqq., which the critics are at so much pains to find, may not after all be before their eyes in vs. 1-5. Kuenen, however, uses it not to close but to

widen the breach already made, by inferring that P could not have connected Balaam with the affair of Baal-peor in 31:16, which in his view is not the work even of R, but of a later diaskeuast, to whom indeed the whole of chap. 31 is to be referred and consequently 25:16-18 also, which is evidently preliminary to it.

But such sweeping consequences are quite too hasty. The writer knew of Balaam's connection with this scandalous transaction, but it was unknown to Israel at the time that the trespass was committed. His secret agency in the matter was, therefore, reserved for mention at the appropriate time, when all was revealed and the unworthy seer suffered the penalty of his misdeed.

And now why is not vs. 1-5 the suitable introduction to the verses that follow? The plague which had broken out among the people, vs. 8,9, and on account of which, v. 6, they were weeping at the door of the Tabernacle, is already intimated in v. 3, "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel," and in the measures required to be taken, v. 4, "that the fierce anger of the Lord might be turned away from Israel."

The intimate connection of unchastity and idolatry nullifies the pretence that the criminality of v. 6 is dissociated from that of Baal-peor, v. 3, even if this were not explicitly set aside by v. 18. The act of Phinehas is quite in accord with the spirit of the command in v. 5. The ascription of the enticement, v. 1, to the daughters of Moab, whereas in the rest of the chapter only Midianites and Midianitish women are spoken of, only shows that women of both Moab and Midian participated in the offence. And that the latter were the chief instigators is apparent both from vs. 16-18, and from ch. 31. The reason of all this is obvious from the situation. Israel was now encamped in "the plains of Moab," 22:1, a territory once belonging to Moab and still called by his name, but which had been wrested from him by the Amorites, and was now occupied by Israel after their victory over Sihon, 21:25,26,31. The women who were natives of the country were naturally called "daughters of Moab." At the same time Midianites were mingled with them in large numbers, and their princes had held positions of authority in this region under Sihon, Josh. 13:21; Num. 31:8. It was by the plotting of these princes and their subordinates that Israel was brought into this great peril. It does not appear that Balak took any part in it. It was properly upon Midian, therefore, and not Moab that this great crime was avenged.

Dillmann is not content with sundering vs. 1-5 from vs. 6 sqq., but undertakes to split up vs. 1-5 likewise, in which he is followed by Kittel. He accomplishes this by his usual method of doublets. He alleges that 3a duplicates 2b, and that v. 5 duplicates v. 4, which they do not. In the former instance a general statement of their participation in idolatry (cf. Ex. 34:15) is followed by a statement of the particular deity to which they had addicted themselves. In the latter case a direction given by the Lord to Moses is repeated by him to those charged



with its execution. There is no superfluous iteration in either. The alternation of the terms "Israel" and "people" also furnishes him a pretext for division. Guided by this criterion he assigns vs. 1a,3,5 to E, vs. 1b,2,4a to J. But here his criterion breaks down; for 4b, which continues and completes the sentence begun in 4a, not only stands in the closest relation to v. 3, but has "Israel" instead of "people" as in the first clause of the verse. There is no resource consequently but to assume that R has here again been tampering with the text.

As a result of this partition Dillmann finds two differing accounts in these opening verses. According to J the people were unchaste with Moabitish women and were led by them to idolatry, whilst in E Moab is not named and the trespass of Israel consisted in their apostasy to Baal-peor. As a matter of course the elimination of certain portions of a narrative carries with it whatever they contain. The attempt to justify this critical severance by the statement that Josh. 24:9 sq. and Deut. 23:5 sq. do not charge on the Moabites the injury to Israel through Baal-peor, is altogether wide of the mark. These passages serve rather to refute the critics' assumption based on the severance of vs. 1-5 from the rest of the chapter, that the Moabites were the only or the chief aggressors in the present instance. The blame falls mainly on the Midianites. Neither the king of Moab nor the Moabitish nation as such were engaged in this transaction. The appeal to Hos. 9:10 is void of all significance, for the brevity of the allusion contains no suggestion of the influence under which the sin was committed.

Nöldeke finds a diversity between vs. 4 and 5; according to the former the heads of the people were to be hung up before the Lord, according to the latter the offenders were to be executed by the judges. Baumgarten explains this as a mitigation of the original sentence. The heads of the people by reason of their official position were held responsible for the people's sin and were ordered to be executed, but Moses confiding in the divine mercy ventured to relax this stern command and charged the judges to put to death such as were actually guilty. But the difficulty is imaginary and arises simply from a misinterpretation. As Knobel shows, the divine command to Moses was not to hang up the heads of the people, but to summon them to his assistance and hang *them*, i. e. the guilty parties, those who acted in the criminal manner described in the preceding verses. This command Moses repeats to the judges, who were "heads of the people," Ex. 18:25,26. Dillmann tries to make capital out of the apparent ambiguity of v. 4 for his critical dissection, alleging that it has arisen from the manipulation of R. But if R thought the sense sufficiently clear as determined by the connection, why may not the original writer have been of the same mind?

The critics say that the narrative of J must in its primitive form have contained an account of the execution of this command. Knobel thinks that the Redactor in combining the accounts assumed that the plague took the place of the threatened executions. Keil is of the opinion that the order given to the

judges was not carried into effect, because it was superseded by the act of Phinehas. This, however, seems rather to be mentioned as a signal instance in which an offender of high rank met his deserts, and Phinehas is commended for the deed, and the priesthood is confirmed to him and his descendants for the zeal thus shown. As in similar instances the fulfillment of the order though not recorded is to be taken for granted, cf. Ex. 17:14; 19:12; 33:21; Num. 10:2,31.

Dillmann queries whether vs. 10-13 is not a later addition because of some expressions not elsewhere found in P. Other critics do not share his scruples, and quote both the sentiment and the language of these verses as undoubtedly indicative of P. Zur the father of Cozbi is called, v. 15, head of the people of a fathers' house in Midian; v. 18, the prince of Midian; 31:8, a king of Midian; all in the same document. Such differences are, when it suits the critics, urged as proving a diversity of writers.

#### 4. Chapters 26, 27:1-11.

Vater suggested that the census of ch. 26 may be only another account of that recorded in ch. 1. And Wellhausen complains (*Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 184) that no express mention is made at the outset of a previous enumeration. At the very least he says, the divine command in v. 2 should be, "Take the sum *again*," and this should be followed by an explicit statement that "they numbered the people *a second time*." Wellhausen seems to forget of how little avail such explicit references are in checking the adverse conclusions of critics. The very words for which he asks are found in Josh. 5:2, but "again" and "the second time" are there summarily thrown out of the text as harmonizing additions by a Redactor. It is not, he adds, until the close of the chapter, vs. 63,64, that this numbering by Moses and Eleazar in the plains of Moab is contrasted with that by Moses and Aaron in the wilderness of Sinai, and the statement made that Caleb and Joshua alone survived of those previously numbered. But this, he claims, directly contradicts v. 4, the last clause of which he sunders from what precedes and connects with v. 5 so as to read, "And the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt, are as follows, viz: Reuben, etc." This is accordingly declared to be an enumeration of those who had come forth out of Egypt, which does not consist with the statement that but two of all those who came out of Egypt were included. Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 100) and Dillmann admit the correctness of Wellhausen's rendering of the existing text, but charge that "vs. 3,4 are corrupt\* and warrant no certain conclusion."

\* To sustain his charge of the corruption of the text Kuenen asks, To whom does אֹתָם refer, v. 3? (evidently to "the children of Israel," v. 2), and alleges that the beginning of v. 4 is wanting (but the ellipsis is readily supplied from v. 2). Dillmann adds that אֹתָם after דִּבְרֵי is unexampled, which is merely of force as against the Massoretic punctuation; if it be pointed אֹתָם, it has numerous parallels, e. g. Gen. 17:22; 23:8; 35:13-15; 41:9; 42:30, and its equivalent עִם occurs Gen. 31:29; Deut. 5:4; Josh. 24:27. He adds further that we should expect וְאֵת-בְּנֵי instead of וְבָנֵי if this were the object of צָנְתָּה, but there are abundant examples to the contrary, e. g. Ex.

But there is really no difficulty in the case. It is only the improper division of the sentence which creates even the semblance of trouble. The text is correct as it stands, and the various emendations which have been proposed are needless and uncalled for. The English version renders it correctly, "As the Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel which came forth out of the land of Egypt." As plain as words can make it, direction is given that the present enumeration should have the same limit of age, "from twenty years old and upward," as God had commanded on the previous occasion when Israel had just come out of Egypt. So interpreted, as it was intended to be, the clause has its appropriate force, and contrasts the situation in which the former census was made with that of the present. But as it is linked by Wellhausen, it is superfluous and unmeaning. Why should a census taken years after the exodus be introduced by saying, "The children of Israel, *who came forth out of the land of Egypt*, were" so and so? And what heedless stupidity is attributed to the Redactor, who could introduce such absolutely contradictory statements in the course of a single chapter, as Wellhausen would fasten upon him.

In addition to this explicit reference to the preceding census in v. 4, there are repeated indications in the chapter that this numbering took place near the close of the sojourn in the wilderness, as the preceding had occurred at the beginning. It was, v. 1, "after the plague" an allusion to the events of the foregoing chapter; it was made under the direction of Moses and Eleazar, vs. 1,3, who had succeeded to the high priest's office upon the death of Aaron, 20:25-28. It took place, v. 3, "in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho." It was, vs. 9-11, after the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, related in ch. 16. It was preparatory to the division of the land of Canaan, vs. 52-56, upon the possession of which they were shortly to enter. It was, vs. 64,65, after the full execution of the sentence incurred on the occasion of the mission of the spies, ch. 14. Wellhausen himself confesses the propriety of the enumeration on two distinct occasions, with separate ends in view, each being an indispensable part of the narrative in which it is found, and even the order in which the tribes are named in ch. 26 being determined by the arrangement of the camp fixed in chs. 1,2.\*

The futility of the inferences, which the critics so frequently draw, that a writer has no knowledge of a fact which he has before related, because he does not repeat the mention of it, whenever they think that he might do so, is clearly shown by this signal instance.

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33:2; Deut. 12:6; 1 Kgs. 1:44. And he urges that no such formula occurs elsewhere. This is true. The Lord ordinarily speaks to Moses, and makes him the medium of communication with the people. But if the Lord uttered his command to Moses and Moses delivered it to the children of Israel, why is it not entirely proper to say, as is here said, The Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel?

\* The order of the tribes in ch. 26 is precisely that of ch. 1, except that in naming the sons of Joseph the order of Ephraim and Manasseh is reversed, which is due to the change in their relative numerical strength. At the second census Manasseh had so increased as greatly to outnumber Ephraim, and is accordingly given the precedence.



Dr. Harper (*HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 277, note) thinks that "considerable doubt is cast on the historicity of the numbers" by the circumstance that "the aggregate number is very nearly the same, cf. 1:46 with 26:51," in the two enumerations; and that "in both, the tribal numbers as well as the total number are never given in units, and except in two cases (1:25; 26:7) are given only in hundreds." It is plain that the intention was to give the statement in round numbers, but why this should create suspicion of their unreality does not appear. Nor is there any obvious reason why in such a period of judgment the natural increase may not have been balanced by the losses, and while considerable changes occurred in the numbers of individual tribes, the sum of the whole may not have amounted to nearly the same as before.

The critics allege that vs. 9-11 is an interpolation. Their reason for this is thus frankly stated by Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 100). It "refers to Num. 16 in its present form, and is therefore a later addition." It flatly contradicts the critical assumption that the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram is quite distinct from the conspiracy of Korah, and that the latter is an invention of a subsequent period, which came ultimately to be blended with the former. This passage confirms the narrative of ch. 16 in all its leading features, while the critics discredit it, and in order to get rid of its unwelcome testimony they arbitrarily pronounce it spurious. On a subsequent page (*Hex.*, p. 335) Kuenen modifies his view somewhat. "On closer examination we see that these three verses are not from a single hand. The author of vs. 9,10 includes Dathan and Abiram amongst Korah's band, and therefore cannot have held this latter and his followers to have been Levites. His position is that of the first redactor of Num. 16. On the other hand the writer of v. 11 ('and the sons of Korah perished not') goes on the assumption that at any rate Korah himself was a Levite, and he wishes to explain how it could be that after the captivity there was still a Levitical clan of the B'ne Korah." But there is no divergence between these verses themselves nor between them and Num. 16. The only thing at variance with either is the unwarranted inferences of the critics. The combination of Korah with Dathan and Abiram does not prove Korah to have been a non-Levite contrary to the express declarations of ch. 16 and the plain meaning of ch. 26. The fact that "the children of Korah died not" is not explicitly mentioned ch. 16,\* but is not in conflict with anything there narrated, and is indeed, as Dillmann points out, implied in the form of expression, "all the men that appertained unto Korah and all their goods," denoting that "not his sons, but only his possessions and servants perished with

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\* F. H. Ranke (*Untersuchungen*, II., p. 243) observes that in ch. 16, "which was chiefly concerned with the miraculous sanction of the priesthood, it was not the place to go into details respecting Korah's family. But here, where the families of Israel are enumerated, including those of the Levites (vs. 57-62), among which we find the Korahite (v. 58),—here it was quite appropriate to insert a remark respecting the sons of Korah, who moreover had already been named before and so designated as especially worthy of note, Ex. 6:24."

Korah.”\* And the introduction of this statement in the chapter before us is not for the sake of explaining a state of things which existed “after the captivity,” but to prepare the way for the mention, v. 58, of the Korahite family among the Levites, which still survived after the catastrophe which overwhelmed Korah and his guilty associates.

It is argued that v. 7 completes the enumeration of the Reubenites in the regular form adopted in the case of the other tribes, and that vs. 8-11 are a digression from the main subject of the chapter. But this is no evidence of interpolation. On the contrary it is in accordance with the usage of the genealogical and statistical lists of the Pentateuch to insert brief notices of particular persons or events mentioned in the antecedent or subsequent history. The like occurs again in v. 33 of this chapter, where the mention of Zelophehad and his daughters is preparatory to the incident recorded in ch. 27, and where no one suspects an interpolation.†

Dillmann points out a discrepancy between vs. 29-33 and Josh. 17:1,2 which has no existence. He alleges that in the former passage Machir is the only son of Manasseh and all the families of the tribe are descended from him, whereas according to the latter Manasseh had several other children. But as appears from Josh. 17:3, these children were descended from him through Machir.

Wellhausen fancies a disagreement between vs. 57,58 and Ex. 6:16 sqq.; Num. 3:17 sqq. In v. 57 the three leading families or divisions of the tribe of Levi are named as in the other passages. But in v. 58 a different division is given into five families (Wellhausen adds Kohath and so counts six), which are not set in any relation to the preceding; whilst in the other passages these and several more besides are said to have been descended from the first three. But it is obvious

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\* Dillmann even claims from his critical stand-point that the last clause of 16:32 was inserted by the Redactor with definite reference to 26:12, and in order to explain the statement there made. They must therefore be in perfect accord. Whether this is due to the Redactor, or to the truth of history as recorded by the original writer, is another matter.

† The expressions in vs. 9,10 correspond so exactly with those employed in ch. 16 as to afford small chance for objecting on the score of diction. Dillmann, however, adduces *הִצִּירָה* and *נָס* as foreign to the document in which they here occur. The former is from a verb which in its Niphal form occurs in every document of the Pentateuch, as the critics divide them, Ex. 2:13 J (so Well.); 21:22 E; Lev. 24:10 P; Deut. 25:11 D. The Hiphil occurs twice in this passage, and but once beside in the O. Test., viz., in the title of Ps. 60. If any weight is to be attached to the argument from this source, it can only be on the ground that a writer can never employ a word in one place unless he also uses the same form of it elsewhere. And this will make against the Redactor, to whom Dillmann would assign this passage, quite as much as against the several authors of the so-called Pentateuchal documents. The only one to whom it can be assigned on that principle is the author of the title of Ps. 60. It is said that *נָס* is here used in a different sense from that which it has Num. 21:8,9; but it is only a figurative employment based on the very same signification. Dillmann further remarks that the Samaritan text of v. 10 has *וְאֵרִי* for *וְאֵת-קֶרַח* and inserts *וְאֵת קֶרַח* before *חַמְשִׁים*, thus betraying an acquaintance with the original text of 16:34.” But this is of a piece with the numerous inaccuracies and arbitrary alterations to be found in the Samaritan. A wrong interpretation was put upon ch. 16 as though Korah was consumed by fire at the Tabernacle along with the 250 men who were offering incense, and this verse was changed to correspond.

that this affords no justification for Wellhausen's assumption that the genealogies of Ex. 6 and Num. 3 are a later development from the more primitive material supplied in Num. 26:57,58; and quite as little for Dillmann's proposed reversal of this relation. In this last passage the descent already spoken of in the foregoing is assumed as known; and only those names are mentioned which came to be applied to permanent subdivisions of the tribe.

In the same way the occasional deviations of Num. 26 from the genealogy in Gen. 46 are to be explained. From the twelve sons of Jacob sprang the tribes of Israel; from his grandsons sprang the several families or tribal divisions. In the centuries that intervened some inconsiderable changes naturally took place in these lines of division. A few families died out or were so reduced in numbers as no longer to maintain a separate existence; while a few were subdivided and thus gave rise to fresh families.

The suggestion of Kayser that vs. 58-61 and v. 65 are additions by R is endorsed by Dillmann, who attributes v. 64 to him likewise. Nöldeke contents himself with striking from v. 59 the statement that Jochebed was the daughter of Levi and born in Egypt, as well as the mention of Miriam. Kuenen with more reason admits that all these verses are an original constituent of the chapter. The official position of Aaron certainly justified the insertion of these particulars respecting his family. And the fulfilment of 14:29 was too signal to be overlooked; nor is the record of it to be summarily dismissed on the groundless suspicion that it is a legendary addition sprung from too literal an interpretation of the threatening.

Wellhausen raises the question whether 27:1-11 is in its proper place. Must not the settlement of details follow rather than precede the determination of general principles? Must not the allotment of the land as a whole be regulated first as in chs. 32,34,35 before a particular case under the law of inheritance could arise? And if this passage were transposed after ch. 35, it would be brought into juxtaposition with ch. 36, where the very same case is handled further. While, however, Wellhausen insists on certain dislocations in the chapters that follow, he justly maintains that the paragraph before us belongs where it stands. It is linked with the preceding enumeration, which was made in order to obtain an accurate basis for the division of the land, 26:52-56. This brought to view a family with several daughters and no sons, v. 33, and inquiry was at once made on their behalf, whether they and others similarly situated were to be deprived of an equitable share in the common inheritance.

The explanation given, v. 3, that Zelophehad of the tribe of Manasseh was not in the company of Korah, implies that non-Levites were associated with Korah in his conspiracy. It thus gives additional confirmation to the fact, as recorded in ch. 16, that Dathan and Abiram were partners with him in his guilt, and conflicts with the critical hypotheses that are based on a contrary supposition.



## 5) THE LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) גוע V., p. 174 (6:17). (2) יהוה. (3) כבוד האסף אל עמיו (4) יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (5) ערת בני ישראל Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (6) זרע אחרי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (7) נשיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (8) בית אב always assigned to P. (9) למשפחותם V., p. 174 (8:13sq.). (10) ארץ כנען VI., p. 117. (11) ילד Hiph., V., p. 163 (13). (12) אש זרה Lev.

10:1; Num. 3:4 P; 26:61 R; all in Hex. (13) שמואל Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (14) שֹׁאֵר Lev. 18:6,12,13; 25:49; Num. 27:11 P; Lev. 20:19; 21:2 J; different sense Ex. 21:10 E.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) רִמָּח Num. 25:7 P; all in Hex.  
(2) קָבָה Num. 25:8 P; all in O. T.  
(3) דָּקָר Num. 25:8 P; all in Hex.  
(4) קָבָה Num. 25:8 P; all in O. T.

## 6) THE LANGUAGE OF J.†

## OLD WORDS.

(1) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (2) חזקה יר Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (3) יהוה. (4) שמע בקול Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (5) שקף Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (6) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (7) עתה V., p. 155. (8) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) חרה אף V., p. 163. (10) לחץ Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (11) יסף V., p. 163. (12) רבץ V., p. 163. (13) יָה used adverbially, Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (14) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (15) אנכי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) קדר והשתחוה Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (17) רע בעיני Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (18) אָפֶס Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (19) שית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (20) חזה נשא עינים Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (21) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (22) נול Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (23) נטע Gen. 2:8; 9:20; 21:33; Lev. 19:23; Num. 24:6 J; Ex. 15:17 E; Josh. 24:13 Rd; Deut. 6:11; 16:21; 20:6; 28:30,39; all in Hex. (24) ארר Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (25) מנע Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (26) חלל (= to begin), Gen. 4:26; 6:1; 9:20; 10:8; 11:6; 44:12; Num. 25:1 J; Gen. 41:54 E; Num. 17:11,12 P; Josh. 3:7 D; Deut. 2:25,31; 3:24; 16:9; (different sense Num. 30:3); all in Hex.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) בת (= village, suburb); Num. 21:25,32; 22:42; Josh. 17:16 J; Josh. 17:11 R; Josh. 15:45,47 cut out of a P context, and assigned to R on account of this word; all in Hex.  
(2) מַשֵּׁל (= a proverb maker) Num. 21:27 J; all in Hex.  
(3) שְׁבִית (= captivity) Num. 21:29 J; all in Hex.  
(4) קִבָּב (= curse) Num. 22:17; 24:10 J; 22:11; 23:8,11,13,25,27 E; all in O. T.  
(5) שָׁטַן Num. 22:22,32 J; all in Hex.  
(6) שָׁלַף Num. 22:23,31; Josh. 5:13 J; all in Hex.  
(7) מַשְׁעוֹל Num. 22:24 J; all in O. T.  
(8) גִּרְרָה (גָּרַר) Num. 32:16,24,36 E).  
(9) הִסְכִּין Num. 22:30 J; all in Hex.  
(10) יָרַט Num. 22:32 J; besides in O. T. only Job 16:11.  
(11) כָּפַעַם כָּפַעַם (= habitually) Num. 24:1 J; all in Hex.  
(12) נִשְׂא מַשָּׁל Num. 24:3,15 J; 23:7,18 E; 24:20,21,23 R; all in Hex.  
(13) סָפַק Num. 24:10 J; all in Hex.

## 7) THE LANGUAGE OF E.‡

## OLD WORDS.

(1) תלאה Ex. 18:8; Num. 20:14 E; all in Hex.  
(2) צֶעַק V., p. 163. (3) נא Sect. 5, Lang. of E.  
(4) פָּן V., p. 155. (5) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (6) רק V., p. 175. (7) מאן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) נתן (= permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (9) דבר (= to speak against) Sect. 17, Lang. of

E. (10) התפלל Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (11) אלהים. (12) הִבִּית Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (13) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (14) שָׁעַן Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (15) אָן Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (16) חפר Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (17) כרה Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (18) עתה V., p. 155. (19) אָוִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (20) ארר Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (21) גִּרַּשׁ V.,

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 276.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 280sq.

‡ The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 285.

p. 154 (41). (22) לֵן Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (23) קִבֵּב Sect. 18, Lang. of J. (24) יִסֵּף V., p. 163. (25) מִנֵּעַ Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (26) אֲמָנָם Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (27) שִׁים V., p. 154. (28) מִזְבֵּחַ V., p. 175. (29) עֹלָה (= sacrifice), Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (30) עֹלָה V., p. 175 (8:20-22), Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (31) קָרָה Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (32) צֹוֹר Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (33) הָן Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (34) אֲפָס Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (35) הָאוֹיִן V., p. 164, Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (36) עֹמֵל

Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (37) נָחַשׁ Num. 23:23 E; 24:1 J; all in Hex. (38) חָרָה אֵף V., p. 163. (39) הָרָג Sect. 13, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִסְלָה Num. 20:19 E; all in Hex.
- (2) מְכָר (= price) Num. 20:19 E; all in Hex.
- (3) אֲשָׁד Num. 21:15 E; אֲשֶׁרֹות Josh. 10:40; 12:3,8; 13:20 Rd; Deut. 3:17; 4:49).
- (4) שָׁפִי Num. 23:3 E; all in Hex.
- (5) נִצְמָר Num. 25:3,5 E; all in Hex.

## SECTION 19. THE REMAINING HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

## 1. Deut. 32:48-52 = Num. 27:12-14.

The command to Moses to go up Mt. Abarim and see the land given to the children of Israel, and there be gathered to his people as Aaron had been because of their trespass at Meribah-Kadesh, is repeated in these passages for the most part in identical language. There is some diversity of opinion among the critics respecting the relations between them. Dillmann says P cannot have represented that the same command came twice to Moses, the first time without being obeyed, and the second time with no allusion to the first. It must, therefore, be supposed that Deut. 32:49-52 once stood in P before Num. 27:15-23 and in place of vs. 12-14, but in the final redaction of the Pentateuch was transferred to its present position before the execution of the command, Deut. 34, and was accordingly replaced in Numbers by vs. 12-14. Kuenen thinks that if R was the author of either passage, it must have been the second and not the first. He says (*Hex.*, p. 337), "We cannot determine whether this command was repeated once more in P itself after Num. 27:12-14, or whether R composed Deut. 32:48-52 in imitation of the former passage; but the former alternative is the more probable, as the passage in Deuteronomy is too independent for a mere copy."

Wellhausen has no difficulty in attributing both passages to the same writer and finding in them an actual repetition of the command, since so much had been inserted afterwards that it had been half forgotten. He understands Deut. 32:48 to mean that the second delivery of it occurred on the self-same day as the first; an emphatic statement which would have been quite unmeaning, if it had been repeated immediately after Num. 27:23, but becomes intelligible if the legislation in the plains of Moab, Num. 36:13, intervened, all which related to the future settlement in Canaan. Moses makes his last will and names Eleazar and Joshua executors. All this might have been embraced within a single day. With this view of the matter, ch. 31, the account of the Midianite war is incompatible, as it could not be brought within the time allowed. It is, therefore, declared to be no part of the original narrative. It is indeed, he admits, composed throughout in the spirit and manner of P, to whom the contiguous chapters are referred.

It is in accord with P's historical presuppositions, and is adapted to its place after ch. 27 by the express allusion, 31:2, to the command already given that Moses must be gathered to his people. But this is all waved aside by the dictum that the author of 27:12-23 could not possibly have had the exception, 31:2, in mind, which could have been attended to just as well or better directly after ch. 25.

According to Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 102) "it is possible that 'this same day,' Deut. 32:48, may mean the day on which Moses received the prediction of his death. It is more probable, however, that some later day is meant, which was clearly indicated in a portion of P that had to be omitted when Deuteronomy was incorporated into it." Dillmann agrees with the critics already named in shortening the distance between the two passages under consideration by subtracting Deut. 1-32:47 as from a different source, also all that could as well or better have been communicated before, viz., ch. 27-30, or that must have been transacted previously, viz., ch. 31; and leaving only the appointment of Joshua, directions respecting the future division of the land, ch. 34-36, and the assignment of the land east of the Jordan, which also presupposes, 32:28, Moses' anticipation of his death. The self-same day of Deut. 32:43 is in his opinion neither that on which Moses was first warned of his approaching end, nor one referred to in some passage no longer extant, but that spoken of in Deut. 1:3.

Kayser is quite willing to leave Num. 31 in the place in which we find it and the laws in ch. 28-30 likewise, notwithstanding the fact that they separate 31:2 from 27:13 sqq. to which it plainly refers. He observes that such interruptions of the historical connection by legal passages are not rare elsewhere in P, e. g., Lev. 16:1 refers to ch. 10, yet is separated from it by ch. 11-15. This admission that a back reference from one passage to another is no evidence that these were originally in immediate juxtaposition, nullifies many critical conclusions, which rest on precisely this basis.

Nöldeke admits that both commands belong originally to the narrative, and he shows no anxiety to bring them nearer together by a process of elimination. The writer's purpose in recording the first was "to notify the reader that Moses' life was approaching its end, and to introduce the setting apart of his successor and the final arrangements and incidents; and this is repeated once again just before its execution."

This is the only sensible mode of dealing with the matter. The self-same day of Deut. 32:48 is not to be interpreted by some foreign context, to which it is arbitrarily linked by the critical severance of all that intervenes, but by the context in which it stands and to which the author of the book in its present form plainly intended that it should refer. Even if the critical analysis were admitted, it must still be contended, until the contrary is shown, that the Redactor has dealt fairly with his sources, and preserved their meaning unimpaired; and that the sense which they yield in combination is no perversion of that which they



expressed in their separate state. Thus interpreted in the only way that does not convict the Redactor of malfeasance, the day referred to is that on which Moses obeyed the last divine direction given to him on behalf of the people, 31:19,22; 32:44.

The general intimation was first given to Moses, 27:11-14, that his time had come to die. All that follows is in preparation for that event, the appointment of Joshua, supplementary laws to complete those already given, the punishment of Midian, directions regarding the division of the land, the farewell addresses to the people, and the delivery of the law to them in its final form. When all had been accomplished, he is bidden to ascend the mountain, view the land which he must not enter, and be gathered to his people. The somewhat miscellaneous character of these final arrangements, instead of discrediting the narrative, is true to nature and life. It gives the impression of a record made precisely as things occurred, and not of a fictitious narrative drawn up on an ideal plan. That some things remained to be attended to, which might have been done sooner, is no reason for assuming with Dillmann that the record is inaccurate, but the reverse. No motive can be assigned for inserting the laws in Num. 28-30 just where they are found, if that was not the time at which they were given.

The charge that these passages imply a different account of the transaction at Kadesh from that given Num. 20:1-11 is altogether unfounded. It is in precise accord with the reproof administered to Moses and Aaron on that occasion, v. 13, the language of which is in part repeated.

The explanatory clauses, "These are the waters of Meribah in Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin," Num. 27:14, and "which is in the land of Moab that is over against Jericho," Deut. 32:49, would seem superfluous in the language of the Lord addressed to Moses, but are not on that account to be considered glosses introduced into the text at a later time. There is no reason why the original writer should not have thought fit to place them where they are for the information of his readers.

## 2. Numbers 27:15-23.

The only critical question which arises here concerns the relation of this passage to Deut. 31:14 sqq. So far as this calls for remark it will be considered under No. 4.

## 3. Numbers 32:1-33:56 + Deuteronomy 1:3.

The critics are greatly embarrassed in their attempts to effect a partition of Num. 32. What they commonly represent to be peculiarities of distinct writers are here so indiscriminately mingled as to defy all attempts to separate them. And this is the case not only with J and E, which they admit are often elsewhere blended too intimately to be sundered, but with P likewise which they are in the

habit of affirming to be clearly distinguishable from JE. And in fact so long as P is limited to legal sections, genealogies and statistical tables, or to mere scraps attached to narratives recording dates, ages, removals, summary statements and the like, they get along swimmingly, and manage to assign P a distinct portion with comparative ease. But we find here, as we have found in repeated instances before, that when they allow a narrative to be shared between P and other documents they are in perplexity; and it is as difficult to distinguish P from JE as it is to discriminate J from E.

The explanation of this is not far to seek. Narratives are easily enough sundered from laws and genealogies; each naturally has its own characteristic words and phrases. But where the composition is of a uniform character, as in continuous narrative, the diversity of diction disappears. In other words the diversity of diction, which is urged as a mainstay of the hypothesis of documents, is traceable to the difference in the matter, not to the usages and preferences of distinct writers.

Nöldeke speaks of the "very complicated" character of this chapter, due as he thinks to the interference of the Redactor, so that the details of the partition cannot now be "determined with certainty." Wellhausen says that the similarity in matter of the two accounts makes separation difficult; and he remarks on the surprising affinity in point of language to be accounted for by its being worked over by the Redactor, or as he prefers to assume, JE has here drawn from a source closely akin to P. According to Kittell the chapter has been so vigorously worked over that it is difficult to effect a separation. Dillmann remarks upon the great divergenee in all previous attempts to divide the sources, and says that the working together and working over is more thoroughgoing here than usual. Kuenen gives it up in despair. He says (*Hex.*, p. 101), "Perhaps we must assume that the author on this occasion departed from his usual practice of weaving his two authorities together, and made up an account of his own from them.... Here as in the case of Num. 20:1-13 I must leave the question undecided." Again (p. 254), "It is impossible accurately to assign its own to each of the main documents."

The assertion that the text has been worked over and that changes have been made by the Redactor means here just what it always means, that the critics find it impossible to fit it to their hypothesis. This is the only evidence that it has been tampered with.\*

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\* The divergence among the critics indicates how serious is their perplexity in dealing with this chapter.

Nöldeke: P, 32:2,3(?)4-6,16-32,33 (in part), 40. JE, 32:34-39,41,42. R, 32:1,7-15.

Schrader: P, 32:1\*,2-4,16-19,20a,24,25,28,29\*,30,32,33\*,34-38. J, 32:1 (in part), 5-15,20b-23,26,27,29 (in part), 33 (mid.). E, 32:39-42.

Knobel: P, 32:1,2,16-19,24,28-30,33-38. J (2d source), 32:3-15,20-23,25-27,31,32,39-42. J, 32:1 (in part), 29 (in part).

Verse 1 has "the children of Reuben and the children of Gad"; in v. 2 and the rest of the chapter the order is reversed. On the ground of primogeniture it was natural to name Reuben first; but if citizens of Gad were more active and prominent in this delegation the change of order could be easily accounted for. Dillmann, however, claims that P writes "Reuben and Gad," 1a, and JE, "Gad and Reuben," 2a, 6, 25, 31; but this will not answer for 29, which he gives to P, though it has "Gad and Reuben," nor for 33, which has the same, but is assigned to R, while v. 40, of similar structure, is given to P. This also makes it necessary to divide v. 2, though it is an unbroken sentence, since "Eleazar the priest" and "princes of the congregation" are marks of P. Vatke avoids this by assuming that these words are interpolated, inasmuch as Moses alone is addressed, v. 5 (thy sight, thy servants), and makes reply, v. 6; but the same thing constantly occurs when Moses and Aaron are joined together, Ex. 9:27, 29, 33; 10:8, 9, 16, 18, etc., where the critics make the same claim and with as little reason.

It is further alleged that v. 4 is a doublet of 1b, which it manifestly is not, for although the sense is substantially the same, one is an introductory remark of the writer, the other occurs in an address to Moses.

Another alleged doublet is found in vs. 3 and 4a, where there is a two-fold description of the territory asked for. But there is no superfluous repetition; v. 3 indicates the region intended by its principal cities, 4a by the fact of its recent conquest. One is a very natural and proper addition to the other. The critics, however, have another reason for wishing to separate them. V. 3 is assigned to JE, because the names which it contains recur with slight modifications vs. 34-38 JE, but are not so exactly reproduced Josh. 13:15 sqq. P, the reason of which is obviously to be found in the general character of the description in Joshua, and the change of names noted v. 38 of this chapter. V. 4a is given to P, because "congregation" is a P word; but this compels a sundering of the sentence, for "thy servants," 4b, is a J phrase (though Nöldeke calls attention to the fact of its occurrence in a P connection, 31:49). And this leads to another incongruity, for according to P, v. 1a, the cause of this appeal by Reuben and Gad was their possession of flocks, and yet in their request as given in the portion allotted to P, they make no allusion to this circumstance nor to the fitness of the land for this purpose. Moreover the allusion in 4a is to the victory over Sihon and Og, which according to the critics is related by JE and not by P. A like allusion occurs in v. 33, which Nöldeke and others are obliged to eject as an interpolation since they

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Kayser: JE, 32:1, 4\*, 5\*, 6-18, 20-23, 24(?), 25-27, 33-42.

Wellhausen: P, 32:16-19, 24(=16), 28-32, 33. JE, 32:1-15, 20-27, 34-42.

Dillmann: P, 32:1a, 2b, 4a, 20-22\*, 28-30, 18 sq. (40?). JE, 1b, 2a, 3, 5-17, 20, 23-27, 31, 32a, 34-38. J, 32:5-13, 20 sq. \*, 23, 25-27, 31 (worked over), (32, 39, 41 sq.). E, 32:2a, 3, 16 sq., (20 sq.), 24, 34-38, (32, 39, 41 sq.).

Driver: P, 32:18, 19, 28-32, (33). JE, 32:1-17 (in the main), 20-27 (in the main), 34-42.

Vatke: P, 32:2b, 3, 28-32. E, 32:1, 2a, 4-27, 33-47.

Kuenen: PJE (inseparable), 32:1-5, 16-32. Diaskeuast, 32:6-15.



refer the verse to P, alleging that according to his conception the division of the land was all made by Moses or by Eleazar and Joshua, while JE as represented in vs. 34-39, 41, 42 laid more stress on the independent conquests and undertakings of individual tribes and parts of tribes.

Dr. Harper, who follows the analysis of Dillmann, finds the following "incongruities" in this chapter (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 290).

a. "Vs. 2b-4 give us the words of the children of Reuben and Gad; why then should v. 5 (apparently a mere continuation of their petition) begin anew, 'And they said,' etc.?"

If J's portion begins v. 5 (as Dr. H. will have it) there is nothing to indicate who are the speakers, to whom they are speaking, or what land it is that they are asking for. The verse is dependent for its meaning on what precedes, which, however, the critics sunder from it and assign to other writers. In presenting their petition Gad and Reuben first define the country intended and characterize it, vs. 3, 4; and then proceed to make their request, v. 5. That the writer should mark this turn in their discourse by inserting "and they said," equivalent to "they went on to say" is surely not surprising, and justifies no such severance as absolutely destroys the sense of what follows.

b. "V. 16 begins as if they came forward for the first time."

This is a mistake. "They came near unto him," merely suggests additional urgency, precisely as in Gen. 44:18 Judah draws near to Joseph, at whose feet he had fallen, v. 14, to whom he had spoken, v. 16, and who had twice spoken to him, vs. 15, 17. Moreover Num. 32:16, 17 may continue but certainly cannot open a negotiation for a possession east of Jordan. They contain no request for such a possession. In themselves they suggest no reason for the proposal here announced. They imply and derive all their significance from an antecedent request like that in v. 5, for the sake of gaining which this offer is made.

c. "The greatest inconsistency, however, is that after they voluntarily offer to accompany Israel in their conquests (vs. 16-19), Moses should introduce it as a condition, and talk so much about it (vs. 20-30)."

The only inconsistency is created by the critical partition. So far from their offer to accompany Israel being "voluntarily" made, it was extorted from them by Moses' sharp rebuke of their original proposal. His indignant denunciation of their unworthy suggestion that they should not be required to cross the Jordan, v. 5, brought from them the proposal, vs. 16-19, which they ought to have made in the first instance, not merely the half-way offer, vs. 16, 17, which is all that Dillmann allows them. Misinterpreting 19b as though it implied that the land east of the Jordan had already been promised to them as their inheritance, he transposes vs. 18, 19 after v. 30, whereas it is only hypothetically spoken, on the presumption that their offer would be accepted. Moses responds not by making a new proposition, but by holding them to that which they have themselves made,

only stating it with increased precision and solemnity. And upon their reaffirming their readiness to make the engagement, he instructs Eleazar, Joshua, and the heads of the tribes, who were charged with the future distribution of the land, in the terms upon which Reuben and Gad were to be allowed to settle east of Jordan, and the tribes pledge to them their assent to the required conditions. There is no more talking about the matter than was necessary in an affair of such consequence, that all might be definitely understood by all parties concerned, and the engagement made absolutely binding.

d. "V. 31, moreover, speaks explicitly of the condition as being the command of God, not the words of Gad and Reuben."

Not only were all Moses' injunctions clothed with divine authority, but he distinctly charged these tribes with rebellion against Jehovah, vs. 6-15, in proposing not to cross the Jordan, and he makes the whole arrangement a sacred pledge to Jehovah ("before Jehovah" occurs five times, vs. 20-22) and failure to fulfill it an offence against him, v. 23, which would surely find them out. It is difficult to see how they could regard this otherwise than as a command of Jehovah.

e. "No author would introduce 'the half of the tribe of Manasseh,' in v. 33a, so abruptly and inappropriately."

No hint is given why this is considered inappropriate, or in what respect. And it is difficult to discover any reason for so regarding it. V. 33 is a summary statement of the disposition made by Moses of the territory east of the Jordan, and is here indispensable since the preceding narrative would otherwise be without a suitable conclusion. As Reuben and Gad alone preferred the formal request for an inheritance in this region, only these two tribes are mentioned in the course of the negotiation. But as descendants of Manasseh took an active part in subduing this tract of country, vs. 39,41,42, a portion was assigned to them likewise, which fact must of course be included in a general account of the whole matter, such as v. 33 professedly gives.

The eagerness of the critics to turn everything to the advantage of their divisive hypothesis, and to survey everything from the point of view of this hypothesis, seems to incapacitate them for seeing the reasonableness of that which arises naturally out of the truthfulness and the unity of the record before them. Hence the mystification about the mention of Manasseh in this verse. Nöldeke rids himself of it by ejecting all but the opening words and the last clause as an interpolation by R, so as to read, "And Moses gave unto them . . . the land according to the cities thereof," etc. On the contrary, while no one proposes to follow the Samaritan in inserting "the half tribe of Manasseh" along with the other two tribes throughout the entire chapter, Wellhausen maintains that it belongs not only in v. 33, but in v. 29 likewise, and has been dropped from the latter under the influence of JE. That Moses did assign an inheritance east of the Jordan to the half

tribe of Manasseh as well as to Reuben and Gad is explicitly confirmed by 34:14, 15; Josh. 13:15-32. As in his view the former of these passages was written by P and the latter in dependence on P, this is conceived to represent P's conception of the transaction. According to JE (vs. 34-42), however, only Reuben and Gad received their inheritance from Moses. Bashan was taken possession of by some families of Manasseh by their own prowess. This was in reality long after Moses, probably so in the opinion of the writer who in this case here anticipates the future. V. 40 is an attempt to legalize this act of theirs by claiming for it the authority of Moses.

Dillmann, Kittell, and Kuenen also allege that this conquest of the Manassites was postmosaic, because the name Havvoth-jair, v. 41, is in Judg. 10:3,4 connected with a judge of the name of Jair. It does not, however, discredit the fact of their original conquest by Jair of the Mosaic age and being called after him, that a descendant and namesake at a later period ruled a number of these cities, and thus gave fresh reason for their bearing the name. Kuenen not only makes these Manassite conquests postmosaic (*Hex.*, p. 47), but regards the engagement of Reuben and Gad to assist their brethren in the conquest of Canaan altogether unhistorical (*ibid.*, p. 255). He regards this as "a remote corollary of the wholly unhistorical conception of the unity of Israel in the time of Moses, and the conquest of Canaan as an act accomplished *simul et semel*. But this corollary cannot be shown to rest on any premises supplied either by J or by E. This being so I think the 'prophetic' portion of Num. 32 must be referred to the very last recension," i. e., the Redactor who combined J and E. This shows what power there is in the critical maxim, "Divide and conquer." Form your idea in advance as to the course of Israel's history. So partition the Pentateuchal narrative that any facts at variance with your idea shall be excluded from one or more documents. Regard the silence thus occasioned as evidence that the facts in question were unknown at the time to which these documents are referred, and that allusions to them elsewhere are of later date. Thus you can reconstruct the history after your own fashion, and draw a clear line of distinction between what is primitive and what is secondary, between what is historical and what unhistorical (from your point of view).

Under the head of "Similarities and Differences" (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 289) Dr. Harper makes the following statement: "According to all accounts, Reuben and Gad are to have their desired district only on condition that they aid their brethren across the Jordan; but according to P, (a) Moses demands it, Num. 32:20-22; (b) he leaves the contract with Eleazar, Joshua and the chiefs of the tribes, vs. 28 sq.; while in E, they make the offer themselves, vs. 16 sq., and that settles it."

Whether all accounts agree in the matter aforesaid depends upon the critic who partitions the accounts. As we have just seen, in the hand of Kuenen they



do not so agree. The alleged difference is created by sundering different parts of the same transaction and erecting each part into a separate version of the whole affair.

While vs. 5-15 are by most critics referred to JE, they contain several marks of P; e. g., v. 5, "possession," and the last clause of v. 29 plainly refers back to vs. 5 and 1b; vs. 7,9, "discourage"; v. 8, "Kadesh-barnea"; v. 11, "from twenty years old and upwards." The peculiar word for "armed" runs through the entire section, vs. 17-32, binding all together; v. 22 is linked to v. 27 by the common expression, "the land be subdued," and to v. 18 by "afterward ye shall return."

Ch. 33 contains a list of the stations of Israel in their journey through the wilderness, which according to v. 2 was written by Moses. Kayser says of it:

"The list of stations is commonly regarded as an ancient writing found by the Elohist (P), and incorporated by him in his work. Nevertheless the most serious scruples arise against this assumption from the circumstance that it contains the series of stations, enlarged to be sure, yet in the same order as they stand in the present Pentateuch, and interwoven with remarks which may be read now in the Jehovist, now in the Elohist."

Inasmuch as this list traces the very route marked out in the Pentateuch, not that indicated in P alone, nor in JE alone, but that which results from their combination, and as in repeated instances it contains statements found in both in identical language, Kayser infers that it is neither ancient nor reliable, but that it must be posterior to the Pentateuch in its completed form, and made up from it either by R or by some one later still. And he seeks to confirm this depreciating estimate of it by the fact that 42 stations are named, and if two be omitted there will be precisely 40, just one for each of the forty years spent in the wilderness, and Israel is said to have remained about a year at Sinai. The absurdity of this combination is sufficiently glaring, as 10 stations precede Sinai, the journey to which occupied less than two months, and the 10 stations after Kadesh were passed in as many months. The list could not have been deduced from the Pentateuch, for it has many names of which there is no previous mention; and the allegation that these are fictitious and a pure fabrication is a groundless charge of fraud. And the invention of a bald list of names would be a senseless and unmeaning fraud, for which no motive can be imagined.

If, now, this venerable itinerary was in the hands of the author of the Pentateuchal document P, and was by him esteemed ancient and authentic, and believed to be from the pen of Moses, and was used by him as one of the sources from which he drew his materials in compiling his narratives, then we can readily understand his transcribing it entire at this place in his work, also his introducing its statements respecting occurrences at particular stations on the route in the exact terms of the itinerary in appropriate parts of his narrative, and his passing over in silence in his general narrative places at which nothing worthy of mention occurred. But there are several things which are not intelligible on this hypothesis and do not seem to be consistent with it. It is not explicable that he should in repeated instances omit the mention of incidents recorded in the itinerary and of

the stations at which they took place; nor that just these incidents and stations should be noted and that in the very language of the itinerary in another document JE, whose authors according to the critics could not have been acquainted with it, since they incorporate 21:12-20 an independent list of stations quite inconsistent with that in ch. 33.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Kayser felt compelled in the interest of the divisive hypothesis to contest the antiquity and truthfulness of this Mosaic itinerary, and to claim that it could only have originated after P and JE had been compacted together into the Pentateuch in its present form. Kuenen takes the same ground. He says (*Hex.*, p. 98): "Ch. 33, the list of stations in the journey through the desert, which according to v. 2 was written down by Moses, presupposes the accounts in P, but it also assumes the other accounts of Israel's abode in the desert, and can only have been drawn up and inserted by R."\* It certainly is a serious stumbling block in the way of the divisive critics, which they must by some expedient, if possible, remove.

This Dillmann attempts by a different method, but one equally impracticable. He rejects the baseless conjecture of Kayser and Kuenen on three grounds. (1) "V. 2 distinctly teaches that the author here used an ancient document, which in his time was attributed to Moses." (2) "There is a long series of names which do not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch." (3) "Altogether variant parallels to vs. 29-37, 41-47 are found in Deut. 10:6,7; Num. 21:12-20. These parallels which belong to J and E, show that divergent lists or different recensions of the same list were in circulation, and make it only the more certain that this list belongs to P," whose "mode of expression and peculiarities of matter everywhere appear." He undertakes to account for this correspondence in style with P, when it is not a production of his, by the assumption that it was "worked over by him, and that he inserted vs. 1-4, 36-39, in which the expressions are identical with previous passages in P. The passages identical with JE, vs. 8 sq., 14 sq., 16 sq., 40, 49 are, he alleges, interpolations by R. But this unsupported conjecture of his is as inconsistent with v. 2, even on his understanding of it, as that which he rejects. Such deliberate falsifications both by P and R of a document believed by them to be from the pen of Moses, and given as such to their readers, is quite insupportable

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\* Wellhausen says (*Comp. Hex.*, p. 182) that though he cannot honestly concede 33:1-49 to P, he would be willing to do so on the ground that thus P would be clearly shown to be posterior to JE. This hints at a possible hypothesis, which, however, Wellh. does not himself adopt, and which would be as unavailing as those of either Kayser or Dillmann, that P was the author of this chapter, and in preparing it inserted from JE the verses identical with those elsewhere assigned to this document. But 1. The assumption that P was in possession of JE and acquainted with its contents would be embarrassing to the critics in the numerous passages in which they are compelled to make the opposite assumption. 2. This hypothesis makes v. 2 a wilful fraud, P giving out as the work of Moses a list of stations, which he has prepared himself; or if it be said that P prepared it on the basis of an ancient itinerary reputed to be from Moses, it is open to the same fatal objection as lies against the view of Dillmann.

without an impeachment of their veracity, which would make all their work utterly unreliable. Moses is made to verify their previous statements in matters of which by the hypothesis he said nothing. Moreover when these alleged interpolations are stricken out, the itinerary in its presumed original form would stand in no relation whatever to the narrative of Israel's sojourn in the desert, and the marvel is that it should be introduced at all. It would be reduced to a mere curiosity of no practical worth, and having no link of connection with the history.

If now this ancient itinerary can neither be from P nor R, and cannot have been interpolated either by P or R, what remains but to let it stand for what it claims to be, the work of Moses? And if he wrote it, then the narratives, which correspond with it and are by the critics assigned to P and to JE, are from his pen likewise. And so this chapter is in harmony with the traditional origin of the Pentateuch, and is not and cannot be brought into harmony with any of the divisive schemes.

But how, if it is contradicted, as Dillmann alleges, by Deut. 10 and Num. 21? The variance is only apparent, not real. Num. 21 has already been explained in the discussion of that chapter. As neither itinerary undertakes to name every stopping place, the mention in one of localities not spoken of in the other is no inconsistency. Nor is there any serious difficulty in Deut. 10. Obviously the Beeroth Bene-jaakan, Moserah, Gudgodah and Jotbathah of Deut. 10:6,7, are identical with the Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-haggidgad and Jotbathah of Num. 33:31-33. As Rithmah, v. 18, cf. 12:16, was in all probability the station in the wilderness of Paran, from which the spies were sent, and so identical with Kadesh or in its immediate vicinity, it follows that the stations in vs. 18-36 belong to the years of wandering from Kadesh, 14:25, to the Red Sea (Ezion-geber, 33:35) and back to Kadesh in the first month of the 40th year, 20:1. It was after this return to Kadesh that Aaron died in Mt. Hor, 20:22-29; 33:37,38. It is plain from this that Israel passed through the stations now under consideration once before the second arrival at Kadesh, 33:31-33, and once after, Deut. 10:6,7. That they did not pass through them in precisely the same order the second time that they did the first can create no difficulty. Nor is it a discrepancy that Deuteronomy names Moserah as the place of Aaron's death, and Numbers Mt. Hor, provided Moserah, as there is every reason to believe, lay at the foot of Mt. Hor; for the very next station, Bene-jaakan, was named from Jaakan, Gen. 36:27; 1 Chron. 1:42, a descendant of Seir, and Mt. Hor is "in the centre of Mount Seir," Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v., Seir, Mount.

The assertion that vs. 50,51,54 belong to P, and vs. 52sq.,55sq. are from another source, either J (Dillm.) or H (Driv.) is directly in the face of the evident continuity of the passage; for v. 54 is plainly the sequel of v. 53. It is argued that P elsewhere commands no such extermination; but this simply means that a



partition must be carried through in this place, because it has been made elsewhere on insufficient grounds.

V. 54 repeats 26:53-56; nevertheless the critics assign both to the same document, since one is simply a command to Moses, the other a direction to communicate it to the people (Dillm.). And yet in how many instances are the words of God to Moses and the repetition of them to the people made a pretext for giving the former to one document and the latter to another?

#### 4. Deuteronomy 31:14-34:10.

In Num. 27:12-23 a preliminary announcement is made to Moses of his approaching death. How long this was before his actual decease, we have no means of determining with precision. It was some time previous to the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of the exodus, Deut. 1:3. If Moses died on or just before the first day of the twelfth month, this would leave a sufficient interval for the 30 days mourning of the people, Deut. 34:8, and all beside that is said to have taken place before the observance of the passover in Gilgal on the 14th day of the first month, Josh. 5:10. It is no unfair inference, therefore, that at least a month may have elapsed between this first notice and the close of Moses' life.

There was an obvious reason for thus giving him timely notice. It was that suitable arrangements might be made to transfer the leadership of Israel to another at this important crisis. It is to this task, accordingly, that the remainder of the book of Numbers and the whole of Deuteronomy are devoted. Joshua was at once named and set apart as Moses' successor, 27:15 sqq.; some supplementary laws were given, chs. 28-30, 36; Midian was summarily chastised for their recent crime, ch. 31; directions were given to Joshua respecting the settlement of two and a half tribes east of Jordan, ch. 32, and of the division of Canaan among the other tribes, chs. 34, 35. Moses then makes his touching farewell addresses to the people, exhorting them in the most tender and earnest manner to obey the law, which he recapitulates and reduces to writing and formally delivers to the custody of the priests, Deut. 1-31:13. And now at the close of these preparations for his departure he is reminded, Deut. 31:14, that the time has come for him to die, and he is bidden to summon Joshua that the Lord may solemnly give him a final charge.

This simple recital of facts completely removes the "incongruities," which critics profess to discover in this transaction (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 290).

"If the entire Pentateuch be from one hand, it would be strange (a) that, after Joshua had been fully, legally and divinely appointed (Num. 27:18-23), the order should so soon come again to call Joshua, etc., Deut. 31:14 sq." This is further elucidated in a note by affirming "that the events in Num. 27 and Deut. 31 are very near each other, perhaps on the very same day, Deut. 32:48."

But the "self-same" day of Deut. 32:48 has nothing in the world to do with the day on which Joshua was set apart as Moses' successor, Num. 27. As the whole connection shows, it is the day on which Moses was again notified of his approaching end, Deut. 31:14, and wrote and delivered to the people his admonitory song, v. 22; 32:44. Many matters of great importance had been attended to in the interval of at least a month. That now on the eve of their final parting he should affectionately and solemnly address Joshua once more, surely is not "strange." Nor is it strange

"(b) That Moses should have called Joshua before he were bidden, and should have given him the same instructions, Deut. 31:7sq., which Yahweh gave afterwards, Deut. 31:23."

In concluding his address to the people Moses assured them, 31:1-6, that, though he could not go with them over Jordan, the Lord would accompany them and make them victorious over all foes. Then calling Joshua, who had already been formally appointed to succeed him, he bid him be brave for he must henceforth lead the people and God would bless him. Subsequently the Lord himself from the pillar of cloud in the Tabernacle confirms to Joshua Moses' words. Why is not all this just as it should be? Nor again is it strange

"(c) That the entire ceremony, including Moses' instructions, should take place in the presence of the whole congregation, Num. 27:19,22b; Deut. 31:7; while Yahweh's instructions, which would confirm his divine appointment more than anything else, were given privately, only Moses being present, Deut. 31:14b,23."

The ceremony of instituting Joshua as the future leader of the people was naturally performed in their presence by Moses, who laid his hands formally upon him, and defined the relation in which he should thenceforth stand to Eleazar the high priest. The words addressed by Jehovah to Joshua at the Tabernacle were designed to encourage him, not to impress the people.

Dillmann claims that Deut. 31:14,15 connects directly with v. 23, and that vs. 15-22 relates to a different subject and has been improperly intruded between them. This, however, is not the case. The Lord bids Moses and Joshua present themselves at the Tabernacle. He first addresses Moses, v. 16, with explicit allusion to what He had said to him, v. 14, joining Joshua with him in the direction given, v. 19\* (write ye), and then, v. 23, gives Joshua the promised charge. It is argued that if v. 23 belonged where it is, the subject "Jehovah" should be expressed. But this is of no force, for v. 22 is parenthetical, and Jehovah is the

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\* Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 125) and Klostermann refer "write ye" to the Israelites; Dillmann admits its reference to Moses and Joshua, but tries to evade the natural consequence of this admission by contending that the plural form of the verb is not original, but due to a harmonistic reviser of the text. It is only a fresh illustration of the habitual method of the critics to suspend the exegesis and integrity of the text upon accordance with their peculiar hypothesis.

speaker throughout the entire paragraph. And if this were not so, a multitude of examples can be adduced in which the change of subject, when sufficiently indicated by the sense, is left to the intelligence of the reader. It is further worth noting here, that obedience to the preceding command is recorded, v. 22, by anticipation in accordance with the usage of Hebrew historians. The critics here as elsewhere pervert this in the interest of partition, by balancing these proleptic statements over against those of the subsequent narrative, and inferring that they must belong to different sources, and that the author of 31:22 cannot have written 32:44.\*

According to Dillmann the account of Joshua's formal induction into the leadership originally followed after v. 15, but has been omitted either on account of its incompatibility with or too great similarity to Num. 27:18 sqq., or because of Deut. 1:1-8. But the fact that no record is here made of his induction simply shows that this passage, instead of being a parallel account from another source, as the critics regard it, assumes that it has already taken place.

Dillmann further claims that 31:28,29 are to be disconnected from v. 30, that they originally prefaced an address now lost in which Moses urged the observance of the law just given, and that "these words," v. 28, are to be distinguished from "the words of this song," v. 30. But v. 28 plainly alludes to the opening words of the song, 32:1, and v. 29 indicates its general purport throughout. He also tries to establish an equally unfounded distinction between "the words of this song," 32:44, and "all these words," v. 45. And on the ground of these imaginary differences he concludes in the face of every other indication, as he himself admits, that this passage has been worked over and warped somewhat from its original intent. And yet he confesses after all that the thought, which he supposes to have been introduced into the passage, must have been in it from the beginning. The

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\* It is alleged that the language of 31:14-23 is not that of Deuteronomy, and shows that it cannot be by the same author. But the presence of words in this passage, which there has been no occasion to use in the book before, warrants no such conclusion. Dillmann instances the following: **אהל מועד** v. 14, but according to his analysis this occurs likewise but once in E (Ex. 33:7); why may not the same be the case in Deut.? **עמוד ענן** v. 15, but this is again referred to Deut. 1:33, which is without reason pronounced an interpolation; **בני ישראל** vs. 19,22 sq., occurs also Deut. 3:18; 23:18; 24:7; 32:8, not to speak of 1:3; 4:44-46; 10:6; 28:69, of which the critics try to rid themselves on one pretext or another; **נאץ** v. 20, also Deut. 32:19, besides in Pent. only Num. 14:11,23; 16:30; **הפר פריית** vs. 16,20, besides in Pent. only Gen. 17:14 P; Lev. 26:15,44 J (Dillm.); **אלהי נכר** v. 16, has a poetic equivalent (**אל נכר**), 32:12, besides in Pent. only Gen. 35:2,4, it should be further observed that it occurs, Deut. 31:16, in connection with an acknowledged Deuteronomic phrase **הארץ אשר הוא בא שמה**, which the critics summarily eject from the text; **זנה אחרי** v. 16, besides in Pent. Ex. 34:15,16; Lev. 17:7; 20:5,6; Num. 15:39; **צרה** vs. 17,21, besides in Pent. Gen. 35:3; 42:21; **יצר** v. 21, besides in Pent. Gen. 6:5; 8:21; **הנה** with suf. as proximate future, with 1st pers. only of God at flood, Gen. 6:7; 9:9, or plagues of Egypt, Ex. 8:17; 9:18; 10:4; 14:17, with 2d pers. Deut. 31:16, and besides in Pent. only Gen. 16:11; 20:3, with no other suf. in this sense; **התיצב** v. 14, also Deut. 7:24; 9:2; 11:25 with the same radical sense, though modified by the connection; **ביום ההוא** vs. 17,18,22, also Deut. 21:23; 27:11; cf. 27:2. These various words and phrases occur but seldom elsewhere in the Pent., and it is not surprising that they do not occur oftener in Deuteronomy.



reasoning in fact is brought to such a very fine point, that it is difficult to state intelligibly, what he conceives to have been the difference between the conception of D and his reviser Rd.

Ch. 32:1-43, the song of Moses, and ch. 33, his blessing, are here omitted as the discussion is for the present confined to the historical portion of the Pentateuch.

Ch. 34 is minced up in the most remarkable manner by the critics, and with no small diversity in their conclusions. There is no pretence of any want of connection in the chapter itself; but forms of expression which they attribute to distinct documents are here combined in one continuous paragraph, and consistency obliges them to part it asunder into disjointed fragments. No one would dream of partitioning it except for the sake of making it conform to a hypothesis elaborated elsewhere.

It seems to be reckoned an incongruity, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 290, that Moses died on a well known mountain and was buried in one of its valleys and the precise spot was unknown. Also that conservative critics have to admit that another than Moses wrote Deut. 34; but it is hard to see what peril there is in the admission, since Deut. 31:24 indicates the limit up to which Moses himself wrote.

## 5) THE LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) יהוה. (2) האספ אל עמי Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (3) קדש V., p. 151. (4) ערת (בני) ישראל Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (5) נשיא הערה Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (6) כבש V., p. 151. (7) אֶחָדָה Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (8) ראש אבות Sect. 13, Lang. of P. (9) מסע Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

## 6) THE LANGUAGE OF J.†

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) מצא חן V., p. 175. (2) עברך (= 1st person) Sect. 6, Lang. of J; in P Num. 31:49. (3) יהוה. (4) חרה אף V., p. 163. (5) ארמה V., p. 153. (6) מלא אחרי Sect. 17, Lang. of E. (7) רע בעיני Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (8) יסף V., p. 163. (9) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (10) ועתה V., p. 155. (11) שים V., p. 154. (12) נאץ Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (13) אנכי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (14) בטרם V., p. 156. (15) האזין Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (16) אפק Sect. 17, Lang. of J. (17) אי V., p. 155. (18) הציל Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

## 7) THE LANGUAGE OF E.‡

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) טף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (2) מבצר Num. 33:11; all in Hex. (3) אלהים. (4) מחץ Num. 24:8, 17 J; Deut. 32:39; all in Hex. (5) אהל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (6) טמן Sect. 9, Lang. of E.

This completes the examination of the narrative portion of the Pentateuch. The legal sections yet remain to be considered.

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 288.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 292.

‡ The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 293.

## ▷BOOK NOTICES.◀

### THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA, VOL. IV.\*

After a delay of several years, the second edition of the IVth volume of Rawlinson has appeared. It has been welcomed by all Assyriologists for two chief reasons: (1) because Vol. IV., 1st ed., has been out of print for many years and hence unobtainable and (2) because the 2d ed. is so great an improvement on the 1st. In the present review, I will note some of the most important changes and additions.

Plates 1, 1\* and 2. These are the reproductions of plates 1 and 2 of the 1st ed., and they are expanded into three plates on account of the incompressibility of type. This has unfortunately necessitated the separation of the columns, and the arrangement of the reverse otherwise than on the tablet. The text, however, is much improved, the characters are better represented, and several mistakes have been corrected. Additions to the text are not numerous, but the 150 footnotes, mostly variants, are worthy of note.

Plates 3 and 4. These do not show any remarkable differences from the old edition other than the correction of mistakes, but in the "Additions and Corrections" some additional fragments of duplicates are reproduced. Some of the corrections had already been given by Brünnow and Zimmern.—In pls. 5 and 6 there are considerable additions and improvements in every column. There are numerous variants, supplemented by further fragments of duplicates in the Add. and Cor.—Plate 7 has not undergone many changes, but there are some important additions to the reverse (plate 8), supplemented in the Add. and Cor.—In plate 9 there are some important corrections, among which may be noted *ilu man-man* (l. 37, obv.) for the *ti u man* of the old ed.—Plate 10 has several corrections of the text, and spacing, in which great care has been taken. The importance of showing the spacing of the original in texts of this class is very great, repetitions being indicated by the uninscribed portions of certain lines.—Plate 11 shows also a considerable number of additions and corrections, taken from partial duplicates in the Akkadian language only. The reverse has been considerably improved; in fact, the comparison of the old sheet with the new is rather striking.—Plate 12 shows extensive augmentation, about a dozen lines having been completed and about thirty others added. Notwithstanding this, the name of the king has not come to light.

Passing plates 13 and 14, we see great changes in 15. The text is given in the original Babylonian character, instead of an Assyrian transcription, portions of col. I. obv. and II. rev. are introduced, and additional portions are given from duplicates in the Assyrian character. The text now occupies two plates. Considerably over a hundred variants are noted, adding greatly to the value of this

\*THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA. A selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. Prepared for publication under the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum by Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, Bart. Second edition. London: 1891.

edition.—Plate 18 shows considerable change, the publication of the additional columns (II. and III.) of No. 3 having necessitated two plates instead of one. The form of No. 1 is greatly improved and all the texts show corrections. Additional fragments of Nos. 2 and 3 are given in the Add. and Cor. In consequence of the additional space afforded by the fact that there are two plates instead of one, two other very interesting texts have been added, to one of which, after plate 18\* was printed off, a large additional fragment was found, necessitating the reproduction of the whole in the Add. and Cor. The new text, No. 6, is especially valuable on account of the names of animals which it contains.

Plate 21 has been expanded into two plates. Text No. 1, which occupies one col. in the old edition, takes up no less than three in the new. The additional columns are rather fragmentary, but the portion given in the old ed. is now fairly perfect, especially when the additions from S. 1128 (Add. and Cor.) are noted.

Plate 28 exhibits considerable change, the single sheet being enlarged to two. No. 1 is completed and the obv. and rev. are restored to their right positions. The colophon of No. 2 is added, No. 3 of the old ed. is accompanied by its obv., and considerable additions, added by Mr. Pinches to the old No. 4, are given in full, together with the obv. of the text. There are also variants at the foot of the page.

Plate 29 has grown from one to three (though it cannot be said that there is much on the last, No. 29\*). No. 1 is greatly improved, and additions from duplicate fragments have been made. Nos. 2 and 3 are, but for a few corrections, practically the same as in the old ed., but No. 4 has, in the new ed., a whole plate (29\*) to itself, as well as considerable additions among the Add. and Cor. This is now the most important text of its class. No. 5 is practically the same as in Haupt's *ASKT.*, in the correction of which, however, Mr. Pinches assisted.

Plate 31 is the Descent of Ishtar into Hades. The new text is an improvement on Geo. Smith's, wherever there was room for it. The few notes in the Add. and Cor. should not be overlooked.

The difference between the old and the new edition of plate 35 is remarkable. It is needless to say that the new is the better of the two, the style of the originals being imitated in every case, and corrections made. It is a pity that photolithography was adopted in the new edition, as it has not come out satisfactorily. Plates 36 and 37 of the old edition have, rightly or wrongly, been omitted from the new.

Plate 38 (the old 41) repeats the well-known text of Merodach-Baladan, and gives some improved readings. It is reproduced, however, by the unsatisfactory method of photolithography already mentioned. The transcription (the old 43) and the signs of the zodiac (the old 44) have been omitted. Plate 39 (the old 44 and 45), though done in the same way as 38, has come out much better. The characters are much better formed, and some corrections have been made in the text.

Plates 41 and 42 (the old 48 and 49) contain a large number of additions and corrections, together with over a hundred variants. It is the tale of Ishtar's courtship of Gilgameš, already published by Prof. Haupt in his *Nimrodepos*, with another fragment of the series.

Plates 43 and 44 (the old 50 and 51) give the best text that has yet been issued of the Babylonian account of the Deluge, the improvements on the old edition



being enormous. Over 200 variants are noted at the foot. A good idea of what the tablet was like when completed can be obtained now, the text being printed lengthwise, though the scale is, of course, much larger than that of the original.

Plates 45-47 (the old 52-54) contain proclamations and letters, and they show decided improvements. Nos. 2 and 3 on pl. 45, all three texts on plate 46, and Nos. 1 and 4 on pl. 47 are reproduced in the original Babylonian character, and are not transcribed into the Assyrian. The letter of Sennacherib (No. 3 on pl. 47) is probably the most interesting.

Plate 53 (the old 60) has a considerable number of improvements and corrections, and a small addition in col. II. The obv. and rev. are now put in their right position, and the long and interesting colophon has been restored.

In plate 61 (the old 68), the "oracle to Ésarhaddon," no duplicate has been found to complete the text, but many lines have been greatly improved by a careful collation, as cols. III., IV. and VI. testify, and many minor improvements have been made. The last two plates, 62 and 63 (the old 69 and 70) give the great syllabary found by George Smith. In all, there are more than 10,000 lines of inscription in the book.

I would simply add in conclusion that the new edition is the work of Mr. Pinches. It seems to be the policy of the Trustees of the British Museum to do more publishing than heretofore. This is seen from the appearance of this volume by Mr. Pinches, the Catalogue (in two parts at present) of the Kouyunjik Collections by Dr. Bezold—noticed by me in the Oct.-Jan. number of *HEBRAICA*—and the *Tel-el-Amarna Tablets*, by Drs. Bezold and Budge. The present policy of the Trustees is, of course, specially gratifying to all Assyriologists.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

London, May 2d, 1892.

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#### ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE K. COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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The historical inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have been, for the most part, carefully studied and translated. The more important texts hitherto published have been collated and fresh translations made by competent scholars during the last decade. No one can hope to add much to semitic science historically, or linguistically, by continuing to work over the old material. There are not a few passages in these inscriptions in which there is still uncertainty and others that are wholly obscure. The obscurities are mainly etymological and lexical and the aid necessary to their elucidation can be found only in new historical texts yet to be discovered, or, to a limited extent, in other branches of its copious literature, still imperfectly examined or wholly unknown. Assyriology in the future, more than in the past, must depend upon itself for its interpretation without, however, disdaining valuable suggestions yet to be received from Hebrew

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\* ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE K. COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, by Robert Francis Harper, of The University of Chicago.—Part I. The University of Chicago Press. *Luzac and Co.*, London. *D. C. Heath and Co.*, Chicago. 1892.

and Aramaic, Arabic and Syriac, and even from some of the more remotely connected branches of this widespread family of languages. Assyrian possesses a vast deal of material for its exposition in the thousands of unpublished texts in the British Museum and in the other collections in Europe and the United States. But the past lines of advance are not the future lines of progress. The time for the publication of "Miscellaneous Texts" is past. There is a call for students to devote themselves to special "series" dealing with particular subjects. Not even vocabularies and syllabaries can safely be taken at random and applied without discrimination to texts generally. Many of them were evidently intended for the explanation of special works. The meanings attached have application only within the bounds of the subject for which they are prepared. It is well known that even in modern languages words which are the same orthographically and genetically connote, by the special uses to which they have been applied, quite divergent and sometimes even antithetic ideas. This occurred much more frequently in ancient languages than in modern. Facility in the formation of special terms was not a characteristic of early languages. The main vocabulary was levied upon for the best it could offer to do duty in their stead, and these words were, so to speak, compelled to connote certain ideas in accordance with the character of the subject treated. This fact must not be lost sight of by Assyriologists, for, great as is the temptation to overlook it, the confusion consequent upon the oversight may be greater. This is not the place to discuss this subject. We call attention to it here in connection with the work under review. Not only must Assyriology depend more largely upon itself, but, further, each department of its literature must be studied exhaustively and, to a certain extent, independently. Astrological and astronomical works cannot be explained except in their own light. Mythological, ceremonial and religious texts derive little aid from contract tablets. Epistolary correspondence cannot be successfully made out by depending upon the historical vocabulary. Each class, if it is to be studied profoundly and scientifically, demands separate and exhaustive examination. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we welcome this work by Dr. Harper. If Assyrian letters are to be read this is the way to do it. The author informs us in the preface that it is his purpose (which we hope will be effected), "1) to publish *all* the letters in the *K.* collection in which the name of the scribe is to be found; 2) the best preserved and most important of those without signatures; 3) a transliteration and either a tentative translation or a résumé of the contents...together with a glossary... in other words, to give a corpus epistolarum of the *K.* collection." The task which the author sets himself is not an easy one (as the collection numbers several hundred), but even a cursory reading of the letters of this volume is sufficient to show that in this exhaustive handling of the subject many difficulties, textual, grammatical and lexical, otherwise incapable of solution, will be found to be self-explanatory.

The study of these letters in the past has been somewhat desultory. Mr. George Smith first drew attention to them and attempted the translation of a few of them. Mr. Pinches next called attention to them in the *Transactions of the Society of Bib. Archæology* (vol. 6, p. 219) and gave a translation of K. 14. He was followed by Mr. S. A. Smith, who published with translations thirty in the II. and III. Pts. of his edition of *Asurbanipal*, and about as many more, together with a few from other collections, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Bib. Archæology*. He admits, in several instances, that his work is imperfect, and that he is

not sure that he has grasped the subject of the letter. Pater Strassmaier has given numerous extracts in his *Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, etc., and several complete texts have appeared in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. The most careful study they have received has been by Prof. Frederick Delitzsch. The results of his work have been published in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*.

The texts contained in the above publications are in the main from well preserved tablets. Some of the tablets copied in the present volume are fragmentary. These, however, throw light upon others. K. 1272 e. g. contains only the usual introductory formula and mention of the scribe as a citizen of Nineveh, a fact not stated elsewhere in his correspondence. Similarly K. 1428 is a joint-document from the four scribes who wrote the first fifty letters, thus showing that they were contemporaries. These fragments are often difficult to read. Others in this collection are difficult because of the imperfect state of preservation. A practiced eye is necessary and a general knowledge of literary forms indispensable.

Of the one hundred and twenty-four in this volume about four-fifths are published for the first time. The work will contain about six hundred when completed.

The arrangement of the letters according to the name of the scribe will prove quite convenient, as it will facilitate a comparison of all those emanating from the same source. This arrangement is the more important as the name of the king (to whom the greater number are addressed) is not given. The introductory formula, which is somewhat stereotyped, runs, usually: "To the king, my lord, thy servant." Following this is the name of the scribe with the salutation: "May there be peace to the king, my lord, may Nebo and Merodach be gracious to the king, my lord." The formula varies according to the supposed importance of the occasion. In the sixth letter "all the great gods of heaven and earth, those that inhabit the land of Assyria and those that inhabit the land of Chaldea, all the gods of the lands" are invoked. A similar invocation is found in the seventh and fifty-fourth. The latter is addressed to the king's daughter, and the scribe mentions several gods and goddesses to whom, he says, he prays daily for the health and prosperity of the princess and king. He closes with the wish that Bel and Nebo may turn toward him the friendly faces of the king and princess. Some of the scribes, almost regularly, omit the invocation, e. g., Tâbu-šil-šarra and Tim-ašur. During the period of this correspondence the worship of Nebo and Merodach was most prominent.

The author has done his work carefully and well. To insure, if possible, a more correct text the majority of his copies were submitted to Mr. Pinches for collation. In difficult texts, however, it is almost impossible to secure accuracy at every point. We have collated twenty-five of these letters and have found very few instances where we would venture a different reading. The following corrections are submitted: p. 21, last line, read *bul* for *ád* (cf. l. 2, p. 22); p. 40, l. 16, read *bab*, *kur* for *nu*; p. 44, l. 5, beginning, read *i*, in the middle read *tu* for *la*; l. 11, there is nothing wanting after *am*; l. 19, read *at*; p. 50, l. 12, *lu* is, perhaps, to be supplied at the end as S. A. Smith did at the suggestion of Pater Strassmaier; p. 88, l. 5, rev. read *hi-i-ti-šu* after *ša*; l. 11, there are traces before *šu*; l. 12, read *ma-a kaspu* before *šêbila*; p. 89, l. 5 is omitted, read *ana šarri bêlija*; lines 10 and 11, at the beginning are traces of three and two



wedges respectively; Rev. l. 12, read *tur* for the sign after §4. In Index II., p. xiv, Col. I., last line, read 43, 44 for "113, 114." In all the instances where the author has differed from his predecessors his readings are preferable.

The University of Chicago Press is to be congratulated on the general appearance and typographical execution of this book, the first to bear its imprimatur, and, especially, because its first work is a pledge of its interest in scientific study. The book is an 8vo of 116 pages containing letters from *nineteen* scribes on various state and local, mercantile, religious and private affairs. The work promises to be an important addition to Assyrian literature.

J. A. CRAIG.

LONDON, Nov. 4th, 1892.

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